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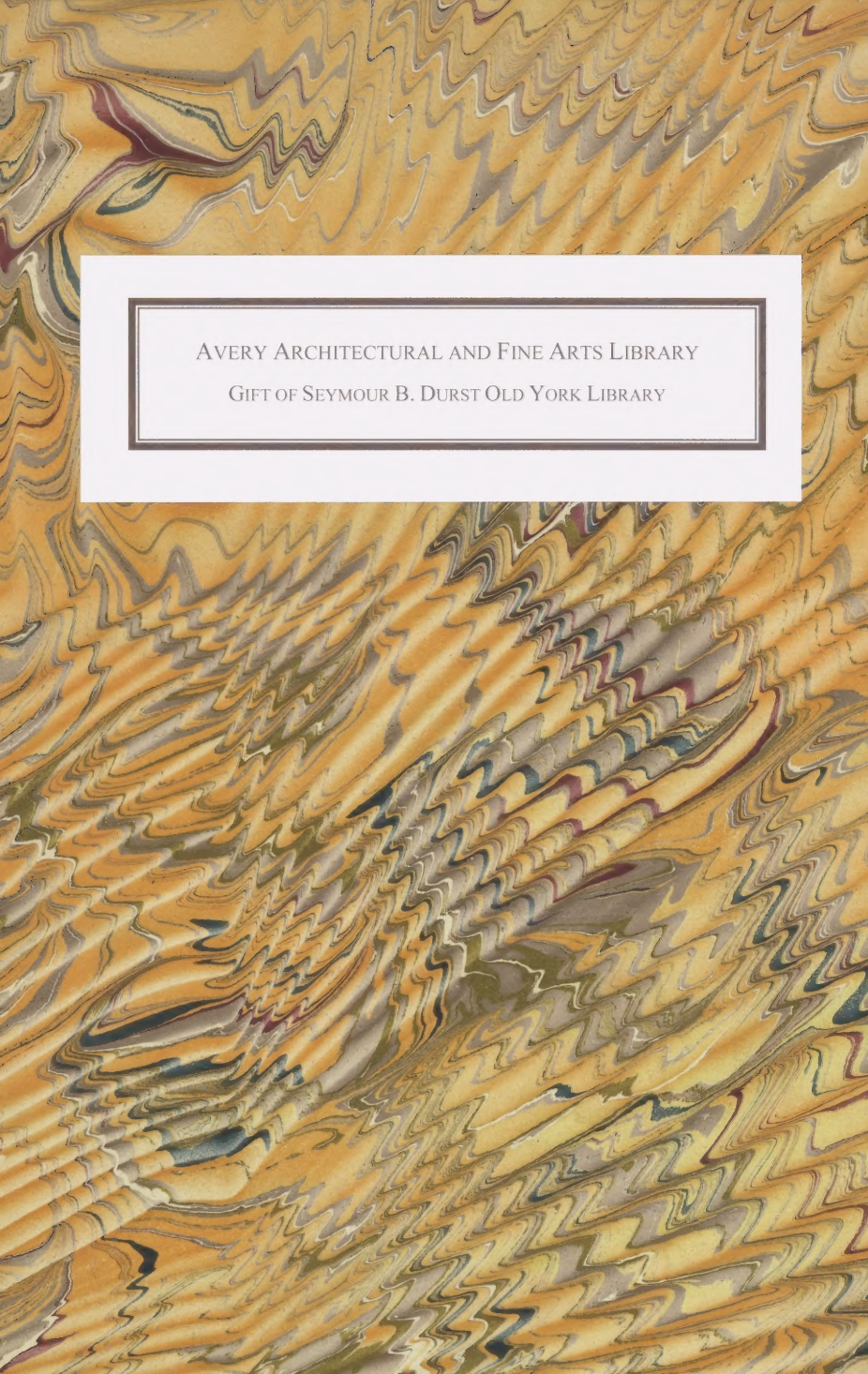


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THE STORY
OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK

BY
CHARLES B. TODD

EXTENDED WITH ILLUSTRATIONS TO TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

1838



Frontispiece.

MANHATTAN ISLAND BEFORE THE DUTCH.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1-15
New York Bay discovered by Verrazano, 2—By Henry Hudson, 5—The Dutch, their country, customs, and laws, 6—The long-sought northwest passage, 7—The <i>Half Moon</i> in the Hudson, 8—The West India Company and its chambers, 12—The first director, 15.	

PART I.

THE DUTCH DYNASTY.

I.

PETER MINUIT	19-39
Manhattan Island in 1626, 19—Its purchase from the Indians, 20—Appearance, dress, manners, and customs of the latter, 24—The beginning of New Netherlands, 26—De Rasières' embassy to Plymouth, 30—Its happy result, 32—The patroons and their purchases, 34.	

II.

WOUTER VAN TWILLER	40-50
Knickerbocker's description of, 40—His warlike measures, 43—Drives the English from the Hudson, 45—Plants a fort on the Connecticut, 46—His authority contemned by the English, 47—His recall, 50.	

III.

WILHELM KIEFT	PAGE 51-63
-------------------------	---------------

His testiness, 51—Despotic powers, 52—Truculent message to Minuit, 57—Sets a price on the heads of the Raritanians, 58—Proposes no more meetings, 60—His cruelty, 61—His recall, 62.

IV.

PETRUS STUYVESANT	64-92
-----------------------------	-------

Soldier and Autocrat, 65—Trials of the councillors, 67—Courtly journey to Hartford, 69—Visit to the West Indies, 73—Attacks the Swedes, 74—Corrects Quakers and Anabaptists, 77—Attacked by the English, 83—Surrenders his fort, 89.

V.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE	93-128
------------------------------------	--------

The pastor's letter, 93—A walk through New Amsterdam, 95—The city wall, 96—The water front, 98—A Dutch tavern, 103—The old koeck, 108; and trumpeter, 109—The Battery in 1663, 111—The church-goers, 113—Fulton Ferry under the Dutch, 115—The burgomaster's court, 117—Shopping, 123—Dutch houses, 124—Social amusements, 124.

PART II.

ENGLISH RULE.

VI.

THE NEW FLAG	131-145
------------------------	---------

Twenty royal governors, 132—Colonel Nicolls' reign, 133—Colonel Richard Lovelace, 136—New York captured by the Dutch, 138; restored, 138—Andros appointed governor, 138—Governor Thomas Dougan, 141—The first colonial Assembly, 141—New York under James II., 143—Accession of William and Mary, 145.

VII.

PAGE

REBELLION 146-167

The two parties, 147—Leisler usurps the government, 150
—Governor Sloughter arrives, 161—Leisler's arrest, 162 ;
Trial, 163 ; Execution, 166.

VIII.

THE ROMANTIC AGE 168-179

Pirates and Red Sea men, 168—Fate of the Prophet Daniel,
172—Some of the freebooters, 174—Captain Kidd and his
fortunes, 176—Arrival of Lord Bellomont, 179.

IX.

THE EARLIER CHURCHES OF NEW YORK 180-185

Garden Street Church, 180—Trinity, 182—Huguenot, 184
—Presbyterian, 185—Baptist, 185—Methodist, 185.

X.

LORD BELLOMONT'S STORMY REIGN 186-189

Esposes cause of Leislerites, 186—Seeks to abrogate land
grants, 187—In Boston, and captures Captain Kidd, 188—
Death, 188.

XI.

MIDDLE COLONIAL PERIOD 190-199

Various events, 190—Arrival of the Palatines, 191—Upris-
ing of slaves, 191—The first newspaper, and a new char-
ter, 192—Trial of Zenger, 194—First Merchants' Exchange,
196—Founding of King's College, 198.

XII.

THE PEOPLE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 200-257

The Rev. James Wooley describes New York, 200—The
Labadists describe Mr. Wooley, 204—Dress, 207—A Walk
through New York, 1730-65, 211—The governor and Gov-
ernment House, 213—Fête-day ceremonies, 215—Furni-

ture, 219—The old City Hall, 221—Corporation dinners, 223—The privateers, 225—Shopping in 1745, 229—Quaint craftsmen, 232—Burial customs, 234—Street signs, 236—Coffee-houses and taverns, 237—Fire companies, 240—Slaves, 242—Colonial court scene, 245—Plays and other amusements, 250—Horse - racing, 253—Dancing, 254—Shooting-matches, 256—Snuff-taking, 256.

XIII.

THE HEROIC AGE 258-282

The Stamp Act, 258—The British Constitution, 259—Resistance, 260—The American Aventine, 265—The tribunes, 265—The praetors, 266—The last day of liberty, 268—Stamp-Act day, 270—The liberty poles, 273—The first bloodshed, 275—New York's tea-party, 279.

XIV.

WAR 283-301

Trail Bissel's message, 283—Welcoming Hancock and Adams, 287—Washington's arrival, 289—The capture of the arms, 291—Fortifying New York, 293—The patriot army transferred, 294—Tory rides, 295—Reading the Declaration of Independence, 296—The enemy's fleet, 297—The Hessian contingent, 300.

XV.

TWO BATTLES 302-333

Where would the enemy strike? 302—The city defences, 304—Its defenders, 307—The opposing force, 309—The prelude, 310—The attack, 317—At Battle Hill, 318—Stirling routed, 319—The retreat, 321—The city evacuated, 323—The British attack, 323—A panic, 325—Mayor Burr's gallant act, 327—Battle of Harlem Heights, 328.

XVI.

NEW YORK IN CAPTIVITY 334-348

The great fire of 1776, 334—Nathan Hale executed, 338—British prisons, 339—New York evacuated, 344—American loyalists, 346—The final parting, 346.

XVII.

CONSTITUTION MAKING	PAGE 349-368
-------------------------------	-----------------

The Philadelphia Convention, 350—The Constitution adopted, 352—Ratified by New York, 354—The Federal procession, 355—Federal Hall, 361—The first Congress meets, 363—Washington inaugurated, 365.

PART III.

THE FREE CITY.

XVIII.

THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS	371-390
----------------------------------	---------

Court life, 371—Philadelphia, the capital, 375—Two parties, 376—Their struggle for power, 377—The result, 382—Early newspapers, 383—Duel between Burr and Hamilton, 386—Hamilton's death, 388—Funeral ceremonies, 388.

XIX.

A TYPICAL NEW YORK MERCHANT	391-400
---------------------------------------	---------

John Jacob Astor: birth, 391—Emigrates to America, 391—Engages in the fur trade, 392—Founds the American Fur Company, 394; and the Pacific Fur Company, 396—Builds Astoria, 396—Death, 400.

XX.

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT	401-419
----------------------------------	---------

The three genii, 401—Fulton and his steamboats, 402—Cornelius Vanderbilt, 406—Erie Canal, 408—The first telegraph, 411—Earliest railroads, 418.

XXI.

SHIPS AND SAILORS	420-430
-----------------------------	---------

The packet service, 420—The clipper ships, 422—Their exploits, 425.

XXII.

	PAGE
MINOR EVENTS, 1784-1860	431-444
King's College re-chartered as Columbia, 431—New York Historical Society founded, 435—Academy of Fine Arts, incorporated, 433—Knickerbocker publishes his "History of New York," 434—City Hall built, 434—Victories of war of 1812, 436—The city's progress, 438—An old man's reminiscences, 439—New York in 1825, 439—Lafayette's visit, 442.	

XXIII.

NEW YORK IN THE CIVIL WAR	445-451
Major Wood's project of an independent city, 446—The uprising, 447—Union Defence Committee organized, 448—Sanitary Commission, 449—Christian Commission, 449—Draft riots, 450—Obsequies of Abraham Lincoln, 451.	

XXIV.

THE MOUSE IN THE CHEESE	452-458
Formation of the Tweed Ring, 453—Its thefts, 454—Detection and disruption, 454—Tweed's imprisonment and death, 456—The moral of it, 456.	

XXV.

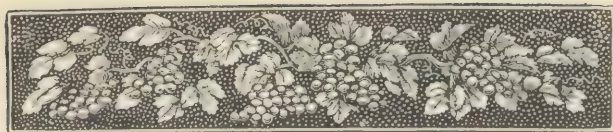
THE TRIUMPHS OF ART	459-464
The Brooklyn Bridge, 459—Opening ceremonies, 460—Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty, 462.	

APPENDIX A.

Mayors of New York since the Revolution, 465.

APPENDIX B.

Notable and curious events in the history of New York, chronologically arranged, 466



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
MANHATTAN ISLAND BEFORE THE DUTCH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
DUTCH VESSEL, 1609	5
MANHATTAN ISLAND BEFORE THE DUTCH	25
THE EARLIEST MAP OF THE CITY	50
THE FORT IN KIEFT'S DAY	63
THE STADT HUYS, 1642	71
NEW YORK UNDER STUYVESANT	79
STUYVESANT'S HOUSE	91
BLOCK-HOUSE AND CITY GATE	95
RIVER AND DOCK FRONT	97
BROAD STREET, 1663	101
THE BATTERY IN 1663	111
DE PEYSTER PUNCH-BOWL	125
SEAL OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1623 TO 1664	127
MAP OF THE CITY IN GOVERNOR FLETCHER'S TIME	177
MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE, 1827	195
KING'S COLLEGE	197
FULTON FERRY, 1746	209
A PLAN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1763	: <i>Face</i> 211
VIEW OF CITY FROM THE NORTH—MIDDLE COLONIAL PERIOD,	213
VIEW OF CITY AND HARBOR—MIDDLE COLONIAL PERIOD	215
FEDERAL HALL	221
FIREMEN'S CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP ABOUT THE YEAR 1800	: <i>Face</i> 242
JOHN JAY	267
THE BATTERY AND BOWLING GREEN DURING THE REVOLUTION,	305
AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF ISRAEL PUTNAM	: <i>Face</i> 314
ROGER MORRIS' HOUSE (THE JUMEL MANSION)	329
TRINITY CHURCH AFTER THE GREAT FIRE	335

	PAGE
OLD SUGAR-HOUSE PRISON	339
AUTOGRAPH PERMIT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON	343
FRAUNCES' TAVERN	347
THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON	367
AARON BURR	379
EDWARD LIVINGSTON	381
"THE GRANGE," HAMILTON'S HOME, 1804	387
ALEXANDER HAMILTON	389
JOHN JACOB ASTOR	399
ROBERT FULTON	402
THE "CLERMONT"	403
COMMODORE VANDERBILT	407
DE WITT CLINTON	409
AUTOGRAPHS OF INVITED GUESTS, ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION	<i>Face</i> 412
BROADWAY, PARK THEATRE, AND CITY HALL	417
THE "DREADNOUGHT"	423
SOUTH STREET IN THE CLIPPER PERIOD	429
PENNY CURRENCY—1790	432
WASHINGTON IRVING	433
PRESENT CITY HALL	435
PLAN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK ABOUT 1804	<i>Face</i> 438
BROADWAY STAGES	" 440
WILLIAM PAULDING	443
BROOKLYN BRIDGE	461
STATUE OF LIBERTY	463





VIEW OF THE HARBOR



FRANKLIN'S AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D.C.



THE STORY

OF

THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BY

CHARLES BURR TODD

AUTHOR OF "LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOEL BARLOW"

ILLUSTRATED

"The harvest of the river is her revenue and she is a mart of nations."

"The crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth."—*Isaiah* xxiii, 3, 8.

NEW YORK AND LONDON

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

The Knickerbocker Press

1888

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1888

Press of
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
New York

TO
THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK
THIS VOLUME
IS
AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
BY
THEIR FRIEND, THE AUTHOR



PREFACE.

IN writing the story of New York, it has been the author's purpose to present a brief but comprehensive survey of the causes which led to the founding of the city, and of the various agencies which contributed to its marvellous growth, and to combine with this a narrative of such domestic details and romantic or picturesque incidents as would serve to render the picture clear and complete. The author hopes that his volume, while planned more particularly for the requirements of younger readers, may be found of service to citizens of all ages who may wish to inform themselves concerning the chief events in the history of the great city of the New World, and who may not find time for larger and more elaborate histories. It is startling to think that in twenty-five years, if the present rate of increase is continued, New York, with her history of two hundred and fifty years, will surpass London, with a life-time of twenty centuries, and will become the capital of the world—that is, in wealth and population. The onward rush of material forces will give her this vantage; but whether she becomes the capital in a

larger sense—in art, letters, science, and moral influence, in great museums and universities of art, in free libraries for the people, and storehouses of learning for the scholar, in that literary and artistic atmosphere which attracts the author, poet, and painter, and develops the best that is in them,—this possibility rests largely with the young people of to-day, who, for the next fifty years, will shape her destinies. Manifestly they will work with greater interest toward this end, if they know that their city has a noble and dignified history, that, notwithstanding grave drawbacks and difficulties, her progress has been such as to challenge the wonder of students of social science the world over, and that her future is so full of possibilities that no man can hope to forecast it. This result the author has also had in view.

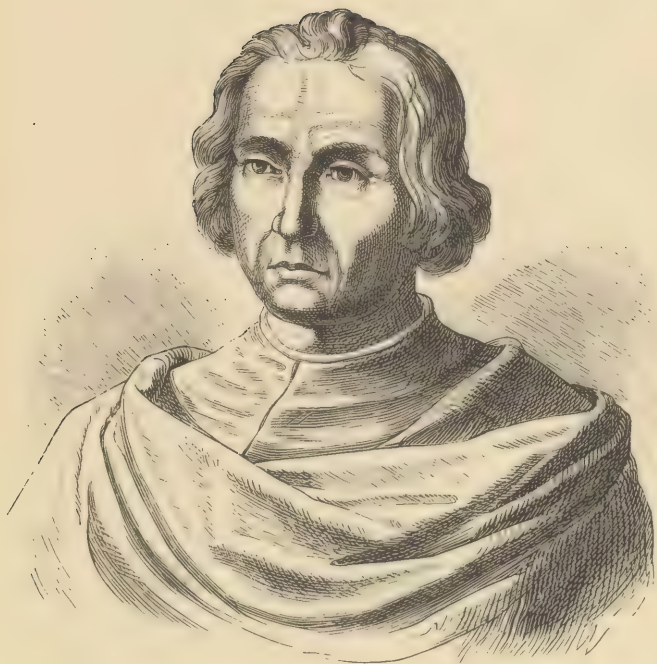
Some details have been unavoidably omitted—an omission supplied in part by the chronological record in the Appendix. In treating of the modern period, the writer has adopted the view of most scholars, that history ceases fifty years back of the present time—contemporary record taking its place,—and has treated of the modern period only so far as seemed necessary to the completeness of the narrative.

It would be impossible to name here the numerous authorities consulted. The author has, however, derived special benefit from the labors of such original investigators as Messrs. Brodhead, O'Callahan, and Valentine. From the "Corporation Manual," compiled by the last-named gentleman, many of the illustrations, as well as many curious facts, have been taken. He is also indebted to the various histories

of the city—by Miss Mary C. Booth, David T. Valentine, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Colonel William L. Stone, and Benson J. Lossing,—and to the scrap-books and files of old papers in the Astor and Society libraries. Acknowledgment is also due Mr. George H. Putnam for his encouragement and co-operation.

NEW YORK, January 1, 1888.





Christopher Columbus.



BIRTH-PLACE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,

THE DISCOVERER OF AMERICA.

Engraved expressly for the Republic, from a drawing made on the spot

See description, see page 67



THE STORY OF NEW YORK.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE year 1524 was a very good year to have been born in. Men in one corner of the world, at least, were waking up. Kings were learning that merchants and navigators had their value as well as men-at-arms. Thirty-two years before, Columbus had discovered America. Twenty-seven years before, De Gama had opened up the passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope, and had given the merchants of Spain and Portugal the treasures of India ; and five years before, Magellan had rounded Cape Horn, and triumphantly circumnavigated the globe. Just now the strife among navigators was for the discovery of a shorter passage to India, either around the frozen pole or through newly found America. One of the great captains who aspired to make this discovery was Jean Verrazano, a native of Florence, but who easily found in Francis I., King of France, a patron willing to commission and despatch him on such an errand. Verrazano left France late in the year 1524

with two ships—the *Norman* and the *Dolphin*,—but was forced by a terrible storm “to land in Bitaine” and repair his ships. His account of the voyage that followed, given in his quaint “Relation,” brings back the soft-toned atmosphere of the age.

“Afterwards,” he says, “with the *Dolphin* alone we determined to make discoverie of new countries, to prosecute the navigation we had already begun. . . . The 17th of January, the yeere 1524, by the grace of God, we departed from the dishabited rock by the isle of Madeira, appertaining to the king of Portugal, with 50 men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship munition very well provided, and furnished for eight months. And sailing westward with a faire easterly wind in 25 dayes we ran 500 leagues, and the 20 of Februarie we were overtaken with as sharp and terrible a tempest as ever any sailors suffered, whereof with the divine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were delivered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course west and by north, and in other 25 days we made about 450 leagues more, when we discovered a new land never before seen of any man either ancient or modern.”

This new land was probably the Jersey shore. Verrazano first sailed southward in quest of a harbor; but finding none, he returned and coasted north until he found “a very pleasant place situated among certaine little, steepe hills; from amidst the which hills there ranne downe to the sea an exceeding great streame of water which within the mouth was very deepe, and from the sea to the

mouth of the same with the tide, which we found to rise 8 foote, any greate ship laden may passe up. But because we rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind we would not venture ourselves without knowledge of the place, and we passed up with one boate onely into the sayd river and saw the country very well peopled." This bay in which the *Dolphin* rode "fenced in from the wind," most geographers agree was the bay of New York, and the "excceding great streme of water" between the hills must have been the Hudson itself. Verrazano was, therefore, the first European to discover and sail into the bay of New York. Without doubt his first act on going ashore was to take possession of the country in the name of his royal master in the beautiful and dramatic fashion peculiar to explorers of the Latin race. Landing with the pomp and display of arms, he planted first a large wooden cross in the ground, and near it a cedar post bearing a metal plate on which was engraven the royal arms of France. Then standing beside the cross, with head bared and his men-at-arms grouped about him, he repeated these words:

"In the name of the most high, mighty, and redoutable monarch, Francis, first of that name, most Christian king of France and Navarre, I take possession of this island, as also of the bay, river, and all countries, rivers, lakes, and streams contiguous and adjacent thereunto, both those which have been discovered, and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their length and breadth, bounded on one side by the seas of the north and west, and on the other by the south sea; declaring to the

nations thereof that from this time forever, they are vassals of His Majesty, bound to obey his laws and to follow his customs, promising them on his part all succor and protection against the invasion and incursion of their enemies ; declaring to all other potentates, princes, sovereigns, states, and republics, to them and their subjects, that they cannot and are not to seize or settle upon any parts of the aforesaid country, save only under the good pleasure of His Most Christian Majesty, and of him who shall govern in his stead, and that on pain of incurring his displeasure and the effort of his arms."

Having thus imparted to our island this pleasant touch of mediæval romance and chivalry, Verrazano sailed away to France, where, at Dieppe, he wrote a "Relation " of his discoveries, as has been remarked. The French king, however, made no attempt to settle his new territories, his attention that year being fully absorbed by his campaign against the Spanish Emperor Charles V. ; a campaign which ended in the defeat of Francis at Pavia, and in his being carried off to Spain a prisoner.

For nearly one hundred years the island retained its primeval wildness and beauty ; vessels passed by in the distance,—discoverers, fishermen, traders, pirates—but none came into the bay, or if they did they left no traces of their presence. At length, however, on a September day in 1609, a ship sailed in—a craft of moment. She was, indeed, an odd-looking vessel, with carved prow, a stern much higher than her bows, and carrying square sails on the two masts of a schooner. She flew a banner new among nations—the Dutch flag : orange, white,



THE HALF-MOON LEAVING AMSTERDAM.

and blue, in three horizontal stripes,—and she was in fact a Dutch craft, “the Texalina vessel,” called the *Half Moon*. I cannot clearly explain her presence here without speaking somewhat at length of the people to whom she belonged. These people were called the Dutch. Their country lay along the



DUTCH VESSEL, 1609.

southern shore of the North Sea, and was called indiscriminately the Netherlands, the United Provinces, and the Low Countries. It was so very flat and low that the quaint writers of the day described it as “a bridge of swimming earth,” and the people as “living lower than the fishes, in the very lap of the

floods." The Dutch were of an ancient civilization. Originally formed of various rude tribes, the Frisians, Batavi, and Belgæ, of whom Cæsar speaks, and later mingled with the conquering Franks and Saxons, they grew to wealth and power under the successive rule of the great Charlemagne, of the lords and bishops of the feudal age, and of the dukes and kings of the house of Burgundy. In 1550, we read, under Charles V. they had 208 walled cities, 150 chartered towns, 6,300 villages, and 60 fortresses. The Netherlands were Protestant in religious faith—disciples of Calvin of Geneva. This did not please Catholic Spain, to which country they were subject, and she so bitterly persecuted them that seven provinces revolted, and formed themselves into a republic. Another terrible war followed this act, which had been closed six months before the *Half Moon* sailed into New York Bay, by both parties agreeing to a truce for twelve years. You will find the whole story graphically told in Mr. Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic." I will speak briefly of the political divisions of the state into which the seven provinces had been welded.

Its government was republican in form, though much more complex and unwieldy than is our own beautiful system. Four great bureaus or departments managed its affairs—the States-General, the Council of State, the College of the Admiralty, and the Chamber of Accounts. The States-General was the principal bureau, and will be most frequently referred to in our pages. This chamber was usually composed of twelve deputies from the various provinces,



THE HALF-MOON.



JOHN H. HAZARD

and its powers more nearly approached those of the president of modern republics. It was the executive body of the system. The genius of the Netherlands was almost purely commercial. It was a nation of great *merchants*, not of shop-keepers, as Napoleon later styled the English. It had at the time of which we write three thousand ships, one hundred thousand sailors, and a trade of sixteen millions per annum, against England's six millions. Old Peter Heylin tells us that at Amsterdam in 1623, at one tide, one thousand ships were seen to go out and in, and that though scarce a stick of ship timber grew on their soil, yet they supplied the world with ships. Its great mercantile corporation—the privileged East India Company, chartered after the rupture with Spain to secure the rich trade of India and the East which Spain and Portugal had so long enjoyed, was now the wealthiest and most powerful association of merchants on the globe. The Dutch Company had, however, a rival in the English East India Company, chartered in 1600, and which, though not then so strong, eventually outstripped it.

Both companies were eager rivals in the discovery of a shorter passage to India than that by the Cape of Good Hope around Africa. The Dutch company believed that such a passage existed through the “Frozen Ocean behind Norway,” that is, around the northern shores of Europe and Asia, and in 1608 had fitted out the *Half Moon*, and given her in charge of the famous English navigator, Henry Hudson, with orders to sail by the way of Nova

Zembla and the Straits of Arian in search of this passage. Hudson sailed into those frozen seas until his path was blocked by ice, and then returned, and began coasting southward along the shore of America, searching for a passage through the continent. He reached Virginia without discovering this passage, and then turned and sailed back by the way he had come, examining the shores more closely than he had previously done. In this way, on the 3d of September, 1609, he discovered, and the next day entered, the beautiful bay of New York. Hudson no doubt believed that the long-sought passage to India was found, and after resting for several days, and exploring the neighboring shores, he made sail and continued on up the river where keel of white man had never before ventured. The freshening water and shoaling channel must soon have convinced him that he was in no strait, but a river, a sad disappointment no doubt to the enterprising, ambitious sailor; nevertheless, with a resolution that increases our respect for him, he decided to press on and explore the mighty stream. He was nine days ascending to the present site of the city of Albany, sailing only by day. Some nights the *Half Moon* cast anchor under the frowning mountains. At other times she was so enshrouded in spectral mists that the mariners could see nothing except what fancy pictured for them.

Often they stopped to trade with the Indians, sometimes going on shore for the purpose. One of these occasions is thus quaintly described by Captain Hudson in his narrative of the voyage.



THE ARRIVAL OF HENRY HUDSON AT SANDY HOOK.



THE GREAT FALLS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE

"I went ashore in one of their canoes with an old man who was chief of forty men and women, whom I found in a house made of the bark of trees, and was exceeding smooth and well finished within, and all round about. I found there a great quantity of Indian corn and beans, and indeed there lay to dry, near the house, of those articles, as much as would load three ships, beside what was still growing in the fields. When we went to the house two mats were spread to sit on, and immediately eatables were brought to us in wooden bowls well made, and two men were sent off with their bows and arrows to kill wild fowl, who soon returned with two pigeons. They also killed immediately a fat dog, and in a little time skinned it with shells they got out of the water."

The natives also brought to barter for trinkets; skins and furs, pumpkins, squashes, grapes, and apples. When the *Half Moon* had reached nearly to the present site of Albany, the channel became so shallow that she could go no farther, and the ship's boat was sent some twenty miles farther on until it reached the head of navigation. When it reported this fact Hudson made preparations to return, and on the third of October, after a voyage of ten days, anchored in the bay of New York, having beaten off a party of hostile Indians, on the ninth day of the return, and killed several warriors. On this voyage Hudson first acquainted the Indians with the taste of rum, which they at once named, from its most prominent quality, "fire water." At the same time far north on the banks of Lake Iroquois, Champlain was giving the same race its first lesson in the use of gunpowder.

On the fourth of October, 1609, the *Half Moon* "went out of the mouth of the great river," and set sail for Europe. Instead of continuing on to Holland, however, Hudson put into the port of Dartmouth, England, where he proposed to spend the winter, and in the spring proceed again to the north with a different crew. A proposition to this effect, together with a full account of his discoveries, he forwarded to his employers in Holland, who responded with a peremptory order for him to return at once with the *Half Moon*. But ere he could do this the English authorities seized him on the ground that, being an English subject, he had no right to engage in the service of a rival power; the *Half Moon*, therefore, proceeded without her captain. The subsequent fate of this eminent navigator was a sad but heroic one. The next year, 1610, he was sent by the Muscovy Company—an English corporation chartered in 1555, to prosecute the trade with Russia—into the northern seas to search for the baffling passage to India, and in pursuit of it discovered the great bay and strait still known by his name. Almost in the moment of his success, however, the crew mutinied and set him adrift on the waste in an open boat with his son and other adherents. No traces of the party were ever after discovered, though an expedition was sent out from England to search for them.

Two years later, in 1611, the intrepid Dutch navigator Adrian Block visited Manhattan Island, coasted the shores of Long Island Sound, discovering the Connecticut River and the island still bearing his



Engr. by H. & W. 170. 170.

Hudson, on his return to Holland received with great welcome by the Merchants and Burgomasters of Amsterdam.

for D. T. Valentines Manual for 1851



name, and then, returning to Holland, published a very graphic and detailed account of his voyages. But the haughty East India Company saw nothing to attract them in the western wilderness, and still continued their search for a shorter passage to the East. There were certain shrewd merchants in Amsterdam, however, who had not been admitted to a share in the profits of the East India Company, and who saw what a rich trade in furs and other commodities might be established with the new country. They proceeded to form a trading company, which was formally chartered by the States-General and given the exclusive privilege of trading to "New Netherlands," for the term of three years, counting from January 1, 1615. In this charter the country was first called New Netherland. The merchants began by building a trading house and fort on an island, near the present site of Albany, and another on Manhattan Island, and enjoyed a profitable trade, but the company was endowed with no civil powers and effected no settlement. Meanwhile, at home, a company was growing up which was to exert a great influence on the destinies of Manhattan. This company, after thirty years of dissensions, was at length chartered by the States-General. It was known as the West India Company, and was one of the most unique and privileged corporations in history. It was a private company, yet exercised many of the functions of a sovereign state. It could make war or peace, contract alliances, administer justice, appoint or dismiss governors, judges, and men-at-arms, build forts, ships, cities—in fact, do

any thing that a sovereign state might do to promote trade and secure its stability. It had also a monopoly of the trade for the Atlantic coasts of Africa and America. Its charter granted by the States-General is dated June 3, 1621,—the very year in which the truce with Spain terminated. Its projectors were certain merchants of the popular or anti-Spanish party, who had, in forming it, a twofold object: the crippling of Spain by attacks on her American possessions and on the vessels trading thither; and the control of the rich trade in furs, herbs, native woods, and precious stones and metals in which the hills and woods of the New World were believed to abound. It was because this company was intended to act against the public enemy that such enormous powers were conferred upon it. As this company was the real founder of our city, some details of its organization may not be out of place. This was much like that of its great compeer, the East India Company.

It was governed by five "Chambers" or "Boards," called, respectively, the Chamber of Amsterdam (which had control of four ninths of the company's interest), the Chamber of Zealand having two ninths, of Maeze with one ninth, of North Holland with one ninth, and of Friesland with one ninth. There were twenty managers for the Chamber of Amsterdam, twelve for that of Zealand, and fourteen for each of the other three. Each chamber had its separate directors and vessels, and fitted out its own voyages. The combined capital of the various chambers amounted to twelve millions of florins,

equal to nearly five million dollars of our money. This great company having received from the States-General a grant of the whole magnificent territory discovered by Hudson, erected it into a province and committed its affairs to the care of the Amsterdam Chamber, while the other boards began actively to prosecute operations against the Spanish. For some time the Amsterdam Chamber paid little attention to the savage province in the west. Its attention, too, was absorbed by the fierce war with Spain. Immense fleets, many of them numbering seventy armed vessels each, were sent against the Spanish possessions in America, and captured prizes of such value that dividends ranging from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent. were declared. Bahia, in Brazil, was taken in 1624, "the great silver fleet" of armed vessels carrying treasure from the South American mines to Spain in 1628, and in 1630 the rich city of Pernambuco in Brazil. All Netherlands rang with the exploits of the privileged West India Company. But a clause in the charter of this company provided that it should "advance the peopling of the fruitful and unsettled parts," which had been granted it, and its enemies soon began to complain that it was doing nothing to carry out the conditions of this clause. Spurred on by these attacks, the company in 1624 sent thirty families of Protestant Walloons to New Netherlands, with orders to make a settlement at Fort Nassau, while eight men were to remain and establish a post on Manhattan Island. These first settlers, the Walloons, were a worthy people, inhabi-

tants of the frontier between France and Flanders, who had distinguished themselves in the wars with Spain by their valor and military spirit.

In 1625 the company, encouraged by its South American successes, advertised for "adventurers" to the New World, offering free transportation, employment, and other inducements. Many hastened to enroll themselves, and toward the close of the year three large ships and a yacht were fitted out and despatched to Manhattan, bearing forty-five persons, men, women, and children, with their household furniture, farming utensils, and one hundred and three head of cattle. This event marks the founding of the colony of New Netherlands, later known as New York. Four years before, the Pilgrims had landed on Plymouth Rock, while Boston was founded three years later. Sir Walter Raleigh's colony had already been seventeen years established at Jamestown, Va. At St. Augustine, Fla., the Spaniard had been domiciled for nearly sixty years—since 1565. Everywhere else along the vast stretch of coast the forest still waved and the savage held possession. But the company hesitated to organize a government and send out a governor. It feared the English, who laid claim to the whole coast of North America, by virtue of the discoveries of the Cabots—John and Sebastian—in 1497, and denounced the Dutch as interlopers. In 1625, however, this fear was removed by the forming of an alliance between England and the Netherlands, for the better prosecution of the war against Spain. The West India Company at once proceeded to form a government for the new country

and to appoint a director, or, in English, a governor. This director was Peter Minuit, of Wesel, in Westphalia, a man who had had experience of new countries while in the employ of the East India Company. He was, too, of a kind, conciliating disposition, and possessed of a faculty for governing—in fact, much the best ruler that New Netherlands ever had. Minuit left Amsterdam for Manhattan in December, 1625, in a ship picturesquely named the *Sea Mew*, and bearing with him quite a reinforcement of colonists.





NEW NEDERLAND.



This view of Fort Amsterdam on the Manhattan is copied from an ancient Engraving executed in Holland. The Fort was erected in 1623 but finished upon the above model by Governor Van Twiller in 1657.

PART I.
THE DUTCH DYNASTY.



I.

PETER MINUIT.

SOMETIMES I allow fancy to picture the appearance of the island on that 4th of May, 1626, when the *Sea Mew* cast anchor off the point of the Battery. Nature's temples, not man's, then adorned it. Sombre forests overhung the Jersey shore and fringed the water-line of the island. A chain of low, craggy hills covered with noble forests of oak, chestnut, hickory, and other trees, with pretty grassy valleys between, extended from the Battery to near the present line of Canal Street; on either side along the river banks were wide marshes stretching away to the north; at Canal Street they bore directly across the island, and were so low that on high tides the water flowed across from river to river. In the sheltered valleys were the maize fields and queer villages of the Indians, and the rude log-cabins of the settlers who had come over the year before. Cow-paths crossed the marshes to the upper part of the island, which was much wilder and more savage, with precipitous ledges, and in many places dense thickets of grape-vines, creepers, blackberry

and other bushes which no one could penetrate. The settlers did not allow their sheep and calves to cross this marsh, lest they should be throttled by the wolves, bears, and panthers that lurked in the thickets, and in their letters home they complained of the deer and wild turkeys that broke in and destroyed their crops. Minuit's first step—probably before landing his people—was to purchase the island of its Indian owners. He had been directed to do this by the company for two reasons: first, to satisfy the Indians and gain their friendship; second, to strengthen the company's title to the country, as against the English. This recognition of the property right of the Indian was the uniform custom of the Dutch in settling New Netherlands. The bargain was made on the 6th of May, 1626, on the present site of the Battery, perhaps on the very spot where Verrazano had planted his cross one hundred and two years before. Old Knickerbocker's delightful account of the affair, in his version of the story of New York, will at once recur to the reader; but Knickerbocker's exuberant fancy often played sad pranks with his historical faculty. The scene as it actually occurred must have been exceedingly picturesque.

On the one side were the savages, clad in deer-skins or in waist-belts of woven grass; on the other, stern, bearded men whose brave costumes and dignified bearing were well calculated to overawe the rude natives. The Hollanders wore long-skirted coats, some loose, some girt about the waist with a military sash, velvet breeches ending at the knee in black Holland



THE FIRST GREAT TIPPLE ON NEW YORK ISLAND.

stockings, and for foot-gear military boots with high flaring tops, or low shoes adorned with silver buckles. Their hats were made of felt, and were low in the crown with very wide brims, which were looped up or not, at the fancy of the wearer. In a sash, slung over the right shoulder and passing under the left arm, a short sword was suspended, but no other war-like weapons were visible. A strong sea-chest of the solid though clumsy workmanship peculiar to Dutch artificers stood open between the two parties, filled with beads, buttons, ribbons, gayly embroidered coats, and similar articles, which were spread out before the delighted savages and were offered in exchange for their island. The red men were only too glad to accept, and thus, for baubles worth scarcely twenty-four dollars, the island, now covered with miles of splendid buildings, passed into the hands of Europeans.

The Dutch, as we have seen, found the Indians in possession of Manhattan Island. It is quite time that the reader was introduced to these Indians. This particular tribe was called the *Manhattos* or *Manhattans*, whence the name of the island. They were a branch of the great Algonkin-Lenape family of aborigines. Their neighbors, with whom they were often at war, were the Hackensacks and Raritan, who lived on the opposite shore of the Hudson; the Weekqueskucks, Tankitikes, and Packamies, whose territories lay north of the Raritan; and the Canarsees, Rockaways, Menikokes, Massapeagues, Mattinecocks, Missaqueges, Corchaugs, Secatauges, and Shinnecocks, Long Island Indians. On the

western bank of the upper Hudson, extending inland some seventy miles, were the fierce Mohawks, a part of the great clan of the Five Nations. Opposite, inhabiting the country between the Hudson and the Connecticut, were the Mohegans, another powerful tribe. With these tribes the colonists were often in contact. Their first peculiarity, as noted by the curious settlers, was their color, which was of a dull copper, or obscure orange hue, like the bark of the cinnamon tree. Their clothing was, in summer, a piece of deer-skin tied around the waist, in winter the skins of animals sewed together, and hanging loosely from the shoulders. After the Dutch came they used in place of buckskin a piece of duffels, or coarse cloth, thrown over the right shoulder and falling to the knees, which served as a cloak by day and a blanket by night. The men went bareheaded. Their hair was coarse, black, and very strong. Some had hair only on one side of the head, some on both, but all wore the scalp-lock; it was a point of honor with them. This lock was formed as follows: a strip of hair three fingers broad was first allowed to grow on the top of the head from the forehead to the neck. This was cut short, except a tuft on the top of the head three fingers long, which was made to stand erect like a cock's-comb by smearing it with bear's-grease. The women or squaws allowed their hair to grow, and bound it behind in a coil shaped like a beaver's tail, over which they drew a square cap ornamented with wampum. The Indians were extremely fond of ornament; even the implements the Dutch gave them were devoted to this use. Hecke-

welder, for instance, relates that they hung the axes and hoes given them about their necks, and used the stockings for tobacco-pouches ; and Creuxis tells of a Huron girl reared by some Ursuline nuns, who on her marriage was given a complete suit of clothes in Parisian style ; but what was the surprise of the nuns a few days later to see the young husband arrayed in the finery and strutting up and down before their convent with an air of exultation which was greatly increased on seeing the nuns at the windows smiling at his queer appearance ! Wampum played an important part in their economy. It was their money, their measure of value. " It was an ornament, a tribute ; it ratified treaties, confirmed alliances, sealed friendships, cemented peace, and was accepted as a blood atonement." In making it the Indian artificer took the inside of the stem of the great conks cast up on the shore, and fashioned from it a small, smooth, white bead, through which he drilled a small hole. For another kind he took the inside purple face of the mussel shell, and made beads shaped like a straw, one third of an inch long, which were then bored lengthwise, and strung on hempen threads or the dried sinews of wild animals. These were then woven into strips of a hand's width and two feet long, called " belts " of wampum. The white beads were served in the same way, but their value was only half that of the purple beads. " They value these little bones," said Dr. Megapolensis, " as highly as many Christians do gold, silver, or pearls, valuing our money no better than they do iron."

In political economy these people were communists, socialists. The land was held in common; the hunt, the fisheries, were free to all, and their condition is an excellent illustration of the utility of socialism when its principles are put into practice. They were anarchists, too, in that they had no law. Each did as he pleased, restrained only by his savage instincts of right and wrong. Minor crimes were unpunished. Murder was avenged by the next of kin, provided he met the murderer within twenty-four hours after the deed was committed. If he did not, the crime could be atoned for by the payment of wampum. Each tribe had its own chief, and separate practices and government. The houses of the Indians were mere huts made by binding the tops of saplings together, and covering the frame thus formed with strips of birch bark; some of the dwellings were communal—inhabited by many families. One shown in the engraving, found on Manhattan Island by the Dutch, was one hundred and eighty yards long by twenty feet wide. There were within it pots and kettles for cooking food, sharpened stones for axes, sharpened shells for knives, wooden bowls from which the food was eaten, beds formed of bulrushes or the skins of wild animals. The Indians used for food the flesh of animals and fish cooked whole, corn, pumpkins, roots, nuts, and berries. They had boats made of birch bark or hollowed out of the trunks of trees, the largest being capable of holding fourteen men, or one hundred and fifty bushels of grain. Calmly considered, these savages were not a people calculated to inspire



INDIANS WATCHING FOR SALMON





respect. They were uncleanly in their food, their dwellings, and their persons. They had neither arts, science, nor commerce, as we understand those terms, and there was much in their character and condition to justify the opinion freely expressed by the Dutch, that they "were children of the Devil," "mere cumberers of the ground."

In the midst of this wild, untamed people Minuet set up his orderly government—the product of a thousand years of judicial wisdom and patriotism. Let us consider it briefly. The Director was absolute monarch of his little world, except that he could not execute the death penalty; his subjects also had the right of appeal to the home company, and even from that body's decision to the States-General. Minuit was also instructed to appoint an advisory council of five of the wisest and most prudent men of the colony, to whose opinions he was expected to give due weight. There were but two other officers in the colony—the secretary of the Council Board and the Schout-fiscal—the latter an official who makes as great a figure in the early records of Manhattan as the Director himself. He was sheriff and constable, State's attorney to convict, and prisoner's council to defend, collector of the customs too, and beadle and tithing-man on Sunday. If we fancy him, with his wand of office in his hand, preceding the Burgomasters and Schepens to church on the Lord's Day, and during service patrolling the streets, seeing that no slave or Indian profaned the hour by gaming, or tapster by selling beer, we shall view him in the guise most familiar to the people.

The men whom Minuit governed were little more than fiefs or servants of the company. They could not at this time hold land, not even the ground on which their dwellings stood ; nor lawfully engage in trade with the Indians, nor among themselves, nor manufacture the necessaries of life. The privileged West India Company held the right to do all these things. Minuit had brought with him a competent engineer—one Kryn Fredericke,—and his first step after forming his government was to build a fort to defend it. It was a triangular earthwork with bastions and red cedar palisades, and stood on a slight elevation near the point where Broadway enters the Battery. Minuit named it Fort Amsterdam. Next the busy workers opened quarries in the island crags, and of the “Manhattan stone” found there, built a rude, strong warehouse for housing the company’s stores and other property. This warehouse was a creditable work—considering the means at hand for building it—with its stone walls, roof thatched with reeds, and those quaint crow-step gables dear to the heart of every Dutchman, of which one may still see a good specimen in the pretty cottage of Washington Irving at Sunnyside. The next public work was a “horse mill,” for the grinding of grain by horse-power—for they seem to have lacked the tools and gear to build a windmill, after the fashion of Hollanders. Some thirty small cabins were also built along the East River shore, and a store was opened in a corner of one of the great warehouses, and placed in charge of a salaried servant of the company. Only a church and a minister were lack-

ing to complete the equipment of the village, but church and minister as yet there was not. That the people might not be wholly without spiritual counsel, however, the company had sent out two "Zuk-enstroosters," or "Consolers of the Sick" (lay readers, we should call them), and they called the people together on the Sabbath and expounded the Scriptures to them. Their church—the first church in the city of five hundred temples—was the loft of the horse-mill, rudely fitted up with benches and chairs.

Two years later, a regularly ordained pastor, the Rev. Jonas Michaelis, arrived and organized a church, whose lineal descendant we shall find in Rev. Dr. Terry's church, on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first Street. Minuit was also busy in extending and cementing trade with the Indians. His voyageurs, in sloop, ship's boat, and canoe, explored every bay and creek of the North River where an Indian lodge was planted, exchanging their beads, axes, knives, and gayly colored cloths for furs, and inviting the Indians to come down and trade with their white brothers at the fort. Many accepted the invitation, and soon parties of savages in blankets or skins, some laden with bales of fur, others with venison, turkeys, wild fowl, and other game, were familiar objects in the streets of Manhattan. The company's warehouse became a busy place.

The ship *Arms of Amsterdam* which sailed for Amsterdam September 23, 1626, carried home "7,246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 minck skins, 36 wild-cat skins, 33 minck skins, 34 rat skins, and much oak and hickory



THE TREATY BETWEEN GOV. MINUIT AND THE ABORIGINES FOR THE SALE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND IN 1624.

timber," the whole valued at 45,000 guilders, or nearly \$19,000. This ship also took samples of the "summer grain" the colonists had gathered at their recent harvest, viz., wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans, and flax. And she bore, too, news of the birth of the "firstborn Christian, daughter" in New Netherland—Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Jan Joris Rapaelje, born June 9, 1625.

An incident occurred this autumn which involved the colony a few years later in a terrible Indian war, and did much to destroy that confidence between the Dutch and Indians which the Director was anxious to cultivate. A Wukquaesguk Indian coming to town to trade, accompanied by his nephew, a mere lad, was set upon by three of the Director's negro slaves, and not only despoiled of his goods but barbarously murdered. The lad escaped, and as soon as he became a man wreaked bloody vengeance, not, as we shall see, on the guilty negroes, but on the innocent whites.

From the Indians who came to trade with him, Minuit heard scattered bits of news about his neighbors, the English on Plymouth Bay, and felt a desire to communicate with them. So he wrote two letters to Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, "in a very fair hand, the one in French and the other in Dutch," and signed by Isaac de Rasières as provincial secretary, inquiring after his Excellency's health, and offering to accommodate him with any European goods the English might want in exchange for beaver skins and other wares. Governor Bradford replied very courteously, saying that he had not for-

gotten the kindness shown the Pilgrims in Holland, but that for the current year they were well supplied with necessaries; "thereafter" he would be glad to trade "if the rates were reasonable." At the same time he expressed a doubt as to the propriety of the Dutch traffic with the Indians on English territory. Director Minuit replied promptly, and, as evidence of good-will, sent a "rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses"; but he firmly maintained the right of the Dutch to trade in the disputed territory. Governor Bradford, in his reply, modestly disclaimed the titles bestowed by his "worthy and loving" brother of New Netherlands as being "over high" and beyond his deserts, but asked that an ambassador be sent to confer on the matter. Isaac de Rasières, the secretary, was chosen for this delicate and important mission. Now Rasières was by nature a very presentable man, and we may be sure that on this occasion he was made to appear at his best. He donned his long coat with its silver buttons, his velvet breeches, and black silk stockings, slipped on his military boots, thrust his sword into its sash, and with a noble retinue of trumpeters and men-at-arms, marched down to the company's dock, where the barque *Nassau*, neatly painted and furnished, and loaded with wampum, a chest of sugar, and "cloth of three sorts and colors," was waiting to receive him. Of the voyage we have, happily, a minute account by de Rasières himself, given his patron, Samuel Bloemmaert, in Holland.

The *Nassau* sailed through Long Island Sound, we learn, bravely flying the orange, white, and blue



Landing at Plymouth 1620.

flag at her peak, threaded the island passages of Narragansett Bay, and then ran "east by north fourteen miles to Frenchman's Point, where in a little harbor where a stream came in the English had an outpost." This was the present Manomet, in the town of Sandwich, at the head of Buzzard's Bay, on the south side of the isthmus connecting Cape Cod with the mainland, and which will be shortly the southern terminus of the Cape Cod ship canal. Plymouth was twenty miles north, across the isthmus "four or five miles" then by boat up the coast. At Manomet the *Nassau* anchored, while the ambassador despatched a trumpeter to Governor Bradford with a message saying he had come in a ship to visit him and to report to him "the good will and favor which the Honorable Lords of the American West India Company had toward him." He mentioned the cloth of three sorts and colors, the chest of white sugar, and the seawan (wampum), that they might trade, and begged the Governor to send a conveyance for him, as he had not walked so far "in three or four years." Governor Bradford accordingly sent a boat for him, and he came "honorably attended by a noise of trumpets," as the Governor himself records. De Rasières spent several days in the village courteously entertained by Governor Bradford, and laid the foundation of a very lucrative trade between the two lone colonies. He gives in his letter a graphic description of Plymouth, and of the customs of its people. Among other pleasant details he tells us how the Pilgrims attended church.

"They assemble by beat of drum, each with his mus-

ket or firelock, in front of the captain's (Miles Standish's) door ; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor in a long robe ; beside him on the right hand the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain (Miles Standish) with his side arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand, and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him."

The secretary's mission seems to have been successful in every particular. The Pilgrims were much pleased with his genteel appearance and courteous behavior, and when he returned in triumph to New Amsterdam he bore a letter from Governor Bradford to his "very loving and worthy friends and Christian neighbors," the Dutch, assuring them of his disposition to trade, and of his great regard and friendship.

The little colony prospered, however, without English trade. Six farms or "boweries" were opened by the company in the natural meadows along the shores of the East River, which were stocked with cattle, goats, hogs, and sheep, and tilled by its servants. Ships were continually arriving from the father-land, bringing colonists, cattle, and household goods. By 1628 the number of inhabitants had risen to two hundred and seventy. In 1629 the imports amounted to 113,000 guilders (about \$45,200),* and

*A guilder, strictly speaking, was worth forty-one and a-half cents. A stuyver, two cents. Wampum, which soon became the circulating medium, four beads for a stuyver. A braided string a fathom long, four guilders. Beaver skins, also used as currency, were at first worth three dollars of our money, though subject to fluctuation.



A DUTCH FARM-HOUSE, OR "BOWERIE."

the exports to 130,000. The company, however, was not satisfied with this progress, nor with the rich future it promised. The expense of colonizing the new country, under the liberal terms granted emigrants, was very great, and the directors now perfected a plan by which this outlay might be met, in part at least, while their privileges should be retained.

There were many wealthy merchants among their stockholders, who, it was thought, would value a title and an estate. To these men they said, in effect :

“ We have a vast territory in America lying along the Mauritius River (the Dutch name of the Hudson) and on the shores of the sea. To each of you who will, at his own expense, establish a colony there we will freely grant these privileges : an estate extending sixteen miles along the one bank of a navigable river, or eight miles on both banks, and stretching inland as far as you can explore ; a title, the title of patroon or feudal chief ; exempt you and your people for ten years from taxation : grant you freedom in trade, except in furs, which we reserve to ourselves, and full property rights ; protect you from enemies, and supply you with negro servants. You may take up this land anywhere but on Manhattan Island, which we reserve to ourselves. You shall forever possess and enjoy these lands, with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers, and fountains, the supreme authority and jurisdiction, the fishing, fowling, and grinding ; and if you shall so prosper as to found cities, you shall have authority to establish for them officers and magistrates. In return you must agree to satisfy the Indians for the land taken ; to plant a colony of fifty souls above fifteen years age

within four years ; to provide a minister and schoolmaster for the colony as soon as possible, and until that is done 'a comforter of the sick.' "

Several directors of the company were willing to accept these terms, and a charter styled the "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions" was granted by the Assembly of the XIX., as the governing body of the West India Company was called. It was dated June 7, 1629, and was a lengthy document containing thirty-one articles, from which we can learn something more of these curious feudal establishments in free America. The patroons were to govern their people conformably to the rules of government made or to be made by the directors of the company. They were to have liberty to sail or traffic all along the coast from "Florida to Terra Neuf," provided they "entered" the goods received in this trade at the company's custom house at Manhattan, and paid a duty of five per cent. upon them ; they were to have two thirds of all prizes taken from the Spaniards, the company reserving the other third ; they might trade in furs in places where the company had no "factories" or stations, provided they paid the company one guilder on each merchantable beaver and other skin. It was further provided that in cases tried before the patroons, where more than fifty guilders were involved, an appeal might be taken to the commander and council in the New Netherland. If any one should discover "minerals, precious stones, crystals, marbles, or any pearl fishery" on the estate, it should remain the property of the patroon, he paying the discoverer a certain price to be agreed on be-

forehand. The people were not to make any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, or weave any other stuffs, on pain of banishment. Finally, the colonies lying in the same neighborhood were to appoint a deputy, who should give information to the governor and council of all things transpiring in his district, and who was obliged to report at least once in every twelve months. This charter was the outcome of the social system then prevailing in Europe and among nearly all civilized nations. At this very moment the French were founding "lordships" and "seigneuries" of similar character in Canada, while forty years later the English proprietors of Carolina attempted to introduce the same system into that province in the guise of landgraves and caciques. Its merits were that it satisfied the Indian for his soil, it provided schools and churches, and settled men in strong, well-ordered communities; its evils were that it introduced monopoly, servitude, and aristocratic privilege. Colonies were quickly established under this instrument.

On June 1, 1629, Samuel Bloemmaert and Samuel Godyn, through agents, purchased of the Indians a tract of country on the southwestern shores of Delaware Bay two miles in width, and extending inland from Cape Henlopen thirty-two miles. The next spring, April, 1630, Kilian Van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, and also a director, purchased of the Indians, through agents, a large tract of land on the upper Hudson, which was increased by subsequent purchases until he was master of a territory twenty-four miles long by forty-eight

broad, and of an estimated area of seven hundred thousand acres; a tract now comprising the counties of Albany, Rensselaer, and a part of Columbia. Next month, May, 1630, directors Godyn and Bloemmaert increased their estate by buying a tract on the shore of Delaware Bay, opposite their former purchase, sixteen miles long by sixteen square. Michael Pauw another director, finding the best lands on the Hudson and the Delaware taken, purchased, in June, the territory called Hobokan-Hacking, situated opposite New Amsterdam, on the west side of the Hudson, to which he added, in the course of the following month, Staten Island and the territory north of his first purchase, now known as Jersey City. These lands were in all cases bought of the Indians, through agents, and were duly ratified before the director and council at Fort Amsterdam, who "sealed them with the seal of New Netherland in red wax." The tract on the Delaware was called Zwanendael or the Valley of Swans. Pauw gave his purchase the pleasant-sounding name Pavonia; the estate on the upper Hudson was called Rensselaerwyck. Zwanendael was the cradle of the present State of Delaware, and Pavonia that of New Jersey. These purchases of the more desirable lands in the company's territory excited the jealousy of the remaining directors, and to appease them, and also to secure their aid in settling the lands acquired, several others were allowed to share in the enterprise; Godyn, De Laet the famous Dutch historian, Bloemmaert, Adam Bissels, and Toussaint Moussart, being admitted to a share in Rensselaerwyck, and six directors together with Captain Petersen De

Vries sharing Zwanendael among them. The latter was soon colonized, and farmers, cattle, and farming implements were sent to Rensselaerwyck, which soon became a flourishing settlement. Kilian Van Rensselaer, the patroon, did not himself remove to the colony, but entrusted the management of its affairs to an agent called a Seneschal. His sons, however, emigrated and became successive lords of the great estate, founding a family that has held an honorable place in the annals of the city and State. Michael Pauw also founded on his patroonship, a village which he called "the Commune," and which occupied the present site of Communipaw, and no doubt gave its name to that ancient village. Very soon the directors had cause to regret giving the patroons such privileges, for they found the latter much more eager to secure the rich trade in furs, than to clear and cultivate their lands. The patroons based their right to the fur trade on the fifteenth article of their charter, which gave them the privilege of trading on the coast from Newfoundland to Florida, and in the interior anywhere "where the company had no commissaries at the time the charter of 1629 was granted," and their ships and their agents were soon out trading at almost every point.

The directors held that this was too liberal a rendering of the fifteenth article; that the whole tenor of the charter was to give the company a monopoly of the fur trade, on which it chiefly depended for its revenues, and a bitter quarrel arose which greatly retarded the progress of the colony. The charter to the patroons was revised, new articles were proposed,

—some of the directors even advocated doing away with the charter altogether. The quarrel was carried before their High Mightinesses the States-General, and complaints were made against Director Minuit, who had officially ratified the purchase of the patroons, and who, it was charged, had favored them as against the company. Another circumstance aided in bringing Minuit into disrepute at this time. A short time before, two Belgian ship-carpenters had appeared in New Amsterdam and, seeking out the Director, had asked his aid in building a famous ship, the largest that had ever floated. The Director, seeing in the project a means of exhibiting to Holland merchants the resources of his colony in ship timber, consented, and in due time the *New Netherlands*, a ship of eight hundred tons and thirty guns—one of the finest pieces of naval architecture that had ever been built—was launched. It cost much more than had been expected, however, and the bills were severely criticised at home both by the stockholders and by the press. Incited by all these complaints, the States-General decided to investigate the Director, the patroons, and the affairs of the West India Company in general, the result being that Minuit was recalled and the privileges of the patroons restricted. Minuit embarked for Holland in the spring of 1632, in the ship *Eendracht* (Union),—which also carried five thousand beaver skins belonging to the company—leaving the affairs of the colony in the hands of his council. But his troubles were not yet over. His ship was driven by stress of weather into Plymouth, England, and was seized by the authori-

ties there on the charge that she had traded to and obtained her cargo in countries subject to the English king. Minuit promptly advised the directors, and himself hurried up to London and laid the case before the Dutch ambassadors, by whom it was brought to the attention of King Charles. The ambassadors also wrote to the States-General, asking them to send over all the documents proving the right of the Dutch to trade to New Netherland, "as that right will undoubtedly be sharply disputed in England." A long and spirited correspondence followed, in which the right of the two nations to the disputed territory was freely canvassed without accomplishing any result, the English government at last consenting to release the *Eendracht*, "saving and without any prejudice to His Majesty's rights." The seizure, however, had served to assert the claim of the English to New Netherlands, which uninterrupted possession by the Dutch might have impaired. Director Minuit will again appear in our history. He had ruled the infant colony for six years, in general, it must be said, with wisdom and moderation. Under his sway it had increased in wealth, trade, and population, and had escaped serious difficulties with the Indians on the one hand, and with the English on the other. Of the four governors of New York under the Dutch dynasty none are worthier of more kindly remembrance than Peter Minuit.



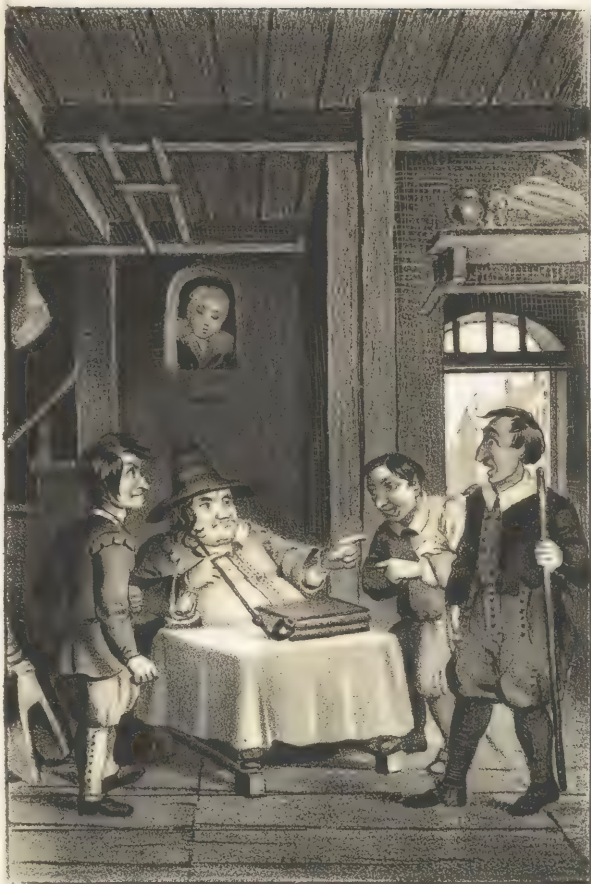
II.

WOUTER VAN TWILLER.

THE directors, after much laying of their heads together, and canvassing of numerous candidates in their great oak-panelled chamber in Amsterdam, fixed on Wouter Van Twiller as Minuit's successor. "Wouter Van Twiller,"—the name provokes a smile as one recalls the famous description by Knickerbocker:

"He was exactly five feet six inches in height, and six feet five inches in circumference. His head was a perfect sphere, and of such stupendous dimensions that Dame Nature, with all her sex's ingenuity, would have been puzzled to construct a neck capable of supporting it; wherefore she wisely declined the attempt, and settled it firmly on the top of his backbone just between the shoulders. His body was oblong and particularly capacious at bottom. His legs were short but sturdy in proportion to the weight they had to sustain; so that when erect he had not a little the appearance of a beer-barrel on skids."

A grotesque figure truly, and not all caricature, for Van Twiller was stout of body and slow of



*LAWSTUT DECIDED BY
Wouter Van Twiller.*

FOR D'VALIEN TINES MANUAL.

H. B. Robinson. 1811. Park Row.



thought ; in habit something of a roysterer, with a burgomaster's fondness for good dinners and good wine, and withal of a petty spirit and narrow mind—a man totally unfitted for the place.

He had been a clerk in the employ of the West India Company, we are told, and had been appointed at the instance of the powerful patroon and director, Kilian Van Rensselaer, whose niece he had married, and whose interests he might be trusted to look after, which seems all the more queer when we consider that the chief grievance against Minuit was that he had favored the patroons at the expense of the company. Van Twiller arrived early in April, 1633. As he came ashore, he saw between two and three hundred men and women with stolid Dutch faces, the men clad in wide, deep-seated breeches tattered and earth-stained, the women in shabby kerchiefs and short gowns ; behind them Indians looking curiously on ; and, forming the background, noisome marshes and fens, a few clearings and cornfields, and a great deal of forest.

He took up his quarters in the fort, and the people went on with their daily tasks as though nothing unusual had occurred. It was but a few days later that a quaint, tub-like craft furled her sails in the harbor, and despatched a boat shoreward, bearing a stranger differing much in appearance from the average voyageur of that day. He was slight and compact in frame, with fair, Saxon features, curly hair, and kindly blue eyes—one of the most polite, humane, and interesting of the knights-errant of his time—the co-patroon, Petersen De Vries. At

home he was known as the rich merchant, but having early become interested in America, as we have seen, had been among the first to plant a colony in the new countries. A sad story he told the Director over their wine that night. He had left Holland, he said, the November before, in his yacht, with provisions and stores for his colony of Zwanendael, but on arriving there found only blackened ruins and the bones of his massacred people. An Indian was enticed on board and induced to tell the pitiful story.

The Dutch, they learned, had reared a pillar on a prominent point in their territory, to which they had affixed a piece of tin bearing the arms of Holland, as an emblem of sovereignty. An Indian chief spying it, had innocently taken it to make himself a tobacco-box. Hoossett, whom De Vries had left in charge of the colony, on discovering the theft, had expressed great indignation, whereupon certain Indian allies greatly attached to him had killed the offender. The murderers were sternly rebuked by the commander, and sent away in disgrace. But in the Indian code blood must atone for blood, and one day, as the colonists were nearly all in the tobacco-fields, a band of savages had rushed upon them and massacred them all—thirty-two in the tobacco-fields, Hoossett and a sick man in the company's house. They had further glutted their vengeance by setting fire to the company's buildings. All the money and labor spent on the plantation had been made useless in a moment; worse than all, his confidence in being able to keep peace with the Indians had been rudely assailed,



FIRING ON PROWLING INDIANS.

Being now without occupation, De Vries lingered a long time in the settlement, and one day witnessed an incident which showed the Director's mettle. They were chatting and smoking on the fort parapet after dinner one day, when they saw a vessel pass the Narrows and head directly for the fort. She flew the Red Cross of England, but her straight lines and "ship-shape" appearance sufficiently proclaimed her nationality. She came to under the guns of the fort, and presently despatched a boat to the shore. A man in resplendent uniform stood in its bow. "What ship is that?" growled Van Twiller, as the boat grounded. "The *William*, of London," replied the officer, with a deep obeisance, "and last from Boston." "Who commands?" pursued the Director. "Jacob Eelkens," was the reply. "I know the varlet," said De Vries, quietly; "he was post trader at Fort Orange (Albany) for the first Dutch trading company, and was dismissed for thievery." "What doth he here?" continued the Director. "Prithee, to trade with the savage," replied the envoy. The Director bit his lip. Here was the old vexed question of English supremacy again presenting itself. In fact, like Banquo's ghost, it was continually popping up in those days on the most inopportune and unexpected occasions. "He hath sent me to present compliments," continued the envoy, "and to invite your Excellency and the Honorable Councillors to dine with him to-morrow. He bade me say there shall be no lack of good wine and ale."

The pleasures of the table were the Director's chief failing, and though De Vries tried to dissuade him,

he decided to accept Eelkens' invitation. Next day, two boats conveyed the Director, his mighty councillors, and De Vries to the *William*, where, as the patroon afterward told the home company, the songs and mad antics of Van Twiller in his cup did grievously tend to bring the Dutch government into disrepute, and caused the English to laugh at the Director's authority. The *William* lay five days before the town, and then Eelkens coolly announced his intention of sailing to Fort Orange to trade with his old friends, the Indians, there. The Director was almost beside himself at the audacity of this proposal, and the measures he took to prevent it were characteristic of the man. He gathered the whole crew of the *William* into the fort and, to overawe them, mustered his men-at-arms, ran up the tri-colored flag, and ordered his gunner to fire three pieces of ordnance in honor of the Prince of Orange. But Eelkens, no whit dismayed, sent his gunner on board ship with orders to throw the Union Jack to the breeze and fire a whole broadside in honor of King Charles,—or in defiance of Van Twiller. While this was being done he hurried on board with his crew, weighed anchor, and stood up the river, his sailors twirling their thumbs at the Dutch garrison, which stood petrified at the audacity of it. Van Twiller was first to recover speech. He ordered a barrel of wine to be brought and broached, and then invited the entire village, which had been attracted to the spot by the guns, to join him in drinking it. Then made valiant by the potion he swung his hat and shouted: "All ye who love the Prince of Orange

and me, emulate me in this and aid me in repelling the violence of that Englishman."

As quickly as was consistent with Dutch stolidity three armed vessels—a pinnace, a caravel, and a hoy—were got ready, and, manned with one hundred and four soldiers, stood up the river in pursuit. Meantime, Eelkens had proceeded to a point about a mile below Fort Orange, landed his cargo, raised a marquee and began a brisk trade with the Mohawks who were delighted to meet again their old friend and ally. It was in vain that Houten, the Dutch factor at Fort Orange, came in his shallop, wreathed in green boughs, with a trumpeter making stirring music, sat up a Dutch booth beside the English, and did his utmost to disparage their goods and hinder their trade. Eelkens was familiar with the Indian language and tastes, and was fast disposing of his cargo, when, fourteen days after his arrival, the three armed vessels we have seen leaving New Amsterdam hove in sight. Getting ashore as quickly as possible, the Dutch officer in command gave Eelkens two letters protesting against his action, and ordering him to depart forthwith. There were soldiers from "both the Dutch forts, armed with muskets, half-pikes, swords, and other weapons," to enforce these demands. Eelkens not complying as promptly as they desired, they attacked the Indians who were trading with him and "beat them well," and then, disregarding the trader's pleadings that he was on British soil and had a right to trade there, they pulled his tent about his ears and hurried his goods on board the *William*; as they did so, they added

insult to injury by sounding a trumpet in their boat "in disgrace of the English." Eelkens and his goods being on board the *William*, the Dutch took possession of her and escorted her to the mouth of the river; or, as Eelkens described it: "The Dutch came along with us in their shallop, and they stucked green bowes all about her, and drank strong waters, and sounded their trumpet in a triumphing manner over us."

Thus ended the third attempt of the English to assert their right to the Hudson as against the Dutch.

Van Twiller was soon embroiled in a deeper quarrel with the English colonies on the east. Both parties cast covetous eyes on the Fresh River (the Connecticut), which had been discovered by Adrian Block, in 1614, and which had since been visited at stated periods by Dutch traders who derived a yearly revenue from it of ten thousand beaver skins, beside other peltries. The Dutch claimed the river by virtue of Block's discovery; the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay by grant of the English king. To strengthen his claim, Van Twiller, in 1632, bought a large tract of the Indians at Saybrook Point at the mouth of the river; and in the summer of 1633, he sent his commissary, Jacob Van Curler, with a piece of duffels twenty-seven ells long, six axes, six kettles, eighteen knives, one sword-blade, one shears, and some toys, to buy a large tract called "Connittecock," embracing the present site of the city of Hartford. Van Curler built on his new purchase a trading post fortified with two cannon, which he called the House of Good Hope. This act of the

Dutch caused great uneasiness when it was reported at Boston and Plymouth. Governor Winthrop contented himself with an emphatic protest, but Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, proved himself a man of action. The frame of a house was quickly made ready and placed on board a vessel. A company of emigrants also embarked, and the little craft then proceeded coastwise to the mouth of the Connecticut and up that beautiful stream. Sped by favoring winds, it soon came to the House of Good Hope, where Van Curler stood by his guns to forbid her passage. "Halt," he cried, "or I shall fire!" But the English kept right on. "They were obeying the orders of the Governor of Plymouth," they said, "and they should go on, though they died for it." They passed unmolested, and founded a settlement at Windsor, a few miles above Hartford, which became the nucleus of the State of Connecticut. Van Twiller protested, but his protests were treated with contempt by the English; he then despatched an armed force of seventy men to clear the river. The doughty warriors finding the English resolute, and the woods (in their imagination) full of hostile savages, returned valiantly to New Amsterdam, without striking a blow. The Director seems to have made no further attempt to dislodge the intruders, but to have contented himself with sending protests, and despatching lengthy accounts to his superiors at home. In a short time the English had established settlements at Springfield above Good Hope, at Wethersfield, just below, and at Saybrook, and were in virtual possession of the river.

On the Delaware, however, Van Twiller was more fortunate. A fort (Nassau) had been early established on this river to command its trade, and then temporarily abandoned. A party of Virginia cavaliers seized this fort early in the summer of 1635, pretending that it came within the confines of their territory. A deserter bore the news to Fort Amsterdam, and the Director at once despatched a body of troops to capture the invaders. They returned in due time with the crest-fallen cavaliers as captives. There was great rejoicing in New Amsterdam—fanfare of trumpets, and toasts in honor of the victors,—but the Director was sorely puzzled to know what to do with his prisoners. At last he hit upon a plan, and calling them before him, he first soundly lectured them for their thievery and trespassing, and then shipped them “pack and sack” to Virginia—which was certainly a very wise thing to do.

In the management of his internal affairs, Governor Van Twiller was much more fortunate. He had some trouble with the powerful patroons who abated no whit of their pretensions, but otherwise affairs ran smoothly. An honorable peace was concluded with the Raritan Indians. New farms and villages were continually being opened in the vicinity. De Vries purchased Staten Island and founded a colony there. East of the Walloon settlement, on the present site of Brooklyn, Jacob Van Corlear bought a large tract of the Indians and founded a plantation. Andries Hudde, of the Governor's Council, in company with Wolfert Gerritsen, bought a large tract next to Van Corlear's, and the Gov-



The eminent Burghers Manheers Tenbroeck and Hardenbroeck disputing about the plan of the City of New Amsterdam. The one insisting that they should run out Docks and Wharfs, and the other that it should be cut up and intersected by canals after the manner of Old Amsterdam.

The dispute ended in high words without coming to any conclusion on a subject of so much interest to posterity, and was the cause of much bad feeling between the parties and their descendants ever after.

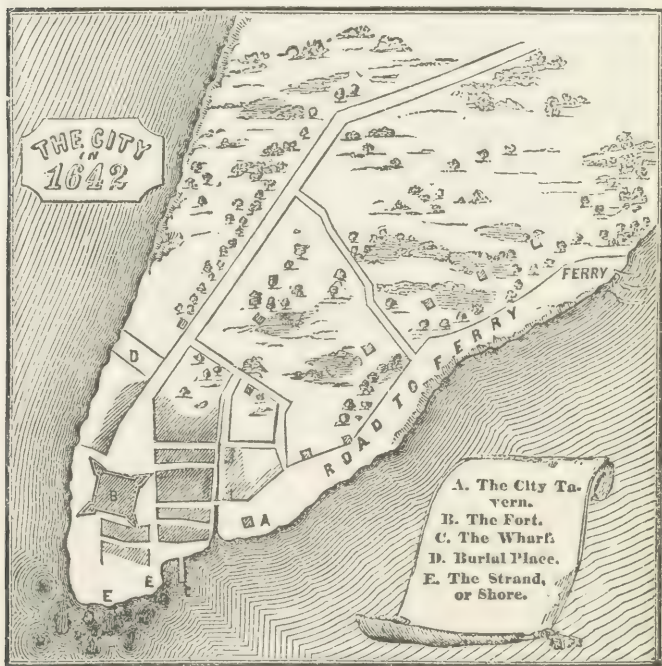
For D. T. Valentines Manual.

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ernor himself purchased another adjoining them on the east, the whole forming the present town of Flatlands. Van Twiller also bought for himself Nutten, now Governor's Island, Blackwell and Great Barn islands. Under him, too, was given another grant to which we shall later refer; that to Roelof Jans of sixty-two acres, which was later incorporated into the King's Farm, and now forms a part of the estate known as the Trinity Church property. In the erection of public buildings, and the giving in general a substantial and civilized air to the crude little town Van Twiller had an honorable record. Fort Amsterdam was completed, and a substantial guard-house of brick was erected within it for the Director, with barracks for the soldiers on the East River shore above the fort, and near by a parsonage and stable, to which Domine Bogardus soon added a fine garden. A country house of brick was also built, "on the plantation," for the Governor. A barn, dwelling, brewery, and boat-house "to be covered with tiles" on Farm No. 1, a goat's stable "behind the five houses," several mills, and dwellings for the smith, cooper, corporal, and other officials. All this was done at the expense of the West India Company, which had now become a wealthy and powerful corporation, owning one hundred and twenty vessels fully armed and equipped, and employing an army of nearly nine thousand men. The furs annually exported from Manhattan had reached a value of one hundred thousand guilders, and Van Twiller reasoned correctly that a part of this revenue should be expended in making his capital more pre-

sentable. The company, however, did not agree with him, and partly for his action in this respect, but chiefly because of charges by such responsible persons as De Vries and Van Dinclage, the Schout-fiscal, that he was diverting the company's moneys to his own enrichment, they decided to remove him. Van Twiller left the colony under a cloud. Wilhelm Kieft, his successor, took the oath of office at Amsterdam, September 2, 1637.



THE EARLIEST MAP OF THE CITY.



III.

WILHELM KIEFT.

THE good barque *Blessing*, bearing Kieft and his party, arrived on the 28th of March, 1638, but the new Director did not receive a very hearty welcome from the motley throng gathered on the quay to receive him. Tales not at all to his credit had preceded him. He had failed as a merchant in Holland, it was whispered, and his portrait had been affixed to the gallows—a lasting disgrace; and, when later, through the influence of friends he had been appointed Minister to Turkey, and funds for the redemption of Christians held by the heathen had been placed in his hands, he had turned the money to his own use, and the poor captives had continued to languish in bonds. Such were the popular tales. His personal appearance as he stepped ashore was not well calculated to win love or confidence. He was a little man with sharp, pinched features, a cold gray eye, a suspicious look, and the air of an autocrat. A man of good natural abilities, but of little education; a shrewd trader, austere in morals—in happy contrast to Van Twiller,—of a fiery, peppery

temper, conceited, opinionated, and tyrannical; the very man to embroil himself with his people, and his people with their neighbors. The citizens soon found that the new Director was bent on establishing a despotism—one that chafed all the more because of the lax rule of Van Twiller. The company had given him authority to fix the number of his council. He chose but *one*, and further curtailed the power of that one, by adopting a rule that in conducting the government his council should have but *one* vote, while he had *two*. His powers in other respects were so extraordinary as to create him a despot. His will was absolute. He erected courts, appointed all public officers, except such as were commissioned by the company; made laws and ordinances and executed them, imposed taxes, levied fines, incorporated towns, and had every man's property at his mercy by his power of raising or lowering the price of wampum, then the chief circulating medium of the country. He extinguished Indian titles to land at his pleasure; no purchases from the natives were valid without his sanction. No contracts, sales, transfers, or engagements were of effect unless they passed before him. He not only made and executed the laws, but construed them as judge. He decided all civil and criminal cases without the aid of a jury. He was the highest court of appeal in the colony.

The council had heretofore been the only check on the governor's action, and this abolished, he became at once an absolute monarch. Having arranged matters to his liking, Kieft, in his shrewd, business-

like way, began investigating the affairs of the colony, and found matters in very bad condition, as he reported to the company: the fort open on every side except "the stone point," the houses and public buildings all out of repair, the magazine for merchandise destroyed, every vessel in the harbor falling to pieces, only one windmill in operation, the farms of the company without tenants and thrown into commons, the cattle all sold or on the plantations of Van Twiller. Vice, too, was prevalent, but the greatest evil was the illicit trade with the Indians. Everybody, from the patroon to the negro slave, he said, was engaged in it. Even Hans, instead of quietly toiling on his little farm, would secrete his demijohn of rum or canister of gunpowder, and barter it slyly with the Indian for his coveted beaver or otter skin.

Another evil was the great lack of farmers. The Dutch colonists had a great repugnance to agriculture. Even if placed on farms, they would follow their hereditary instincts and become traders; very different from their neighbors, the English pioneers, who immediately cleared their lands for farms, and soon became self-supporting freeholders. The Director thought he could change all this by a few strokes of the pen. One morning, on their way to business, the people were surprised to see the trees, walls, rocks, and corners of the houses covered in part with proclamations written in a bold, free hand, and signed with the Director's name. They read on them certain new laws for the government of the colony. Whoever sold powder or fire-arms to the Indians should suffer death; if a servant of the

company was found trafficking with the latter, he should lose his office and his wages ; if an outsider, his goods should be confiscated, and he himself corrected. No articles could be exported without the governor's permission ; no one could trade in any part of the company's territories without a license. Sailors could not remain on shore after sunset without special leave ; the company's servants of every grade must proceed to and leave off work at stated hours, and "not waste their time." Fighting, rebellion, theft, false swearing, calumny, "and all other immoralities" were sternly forbidden. Lastly, the instrument appointed Thursday of each week for the regular sitting of the council for the trial of criminal cases and hearing of complaints. A second proclamation forbade all "except those who sold wine at a decent price and in moderate quantities" to sell any liquor under a penalty of twenty-five guilders. An inspector of tobacco was also appointed. The regulation that the colonists deemed the most oppressive, however, was one declaring that no contracts, bargains, sales, or public acts should be deemed valid unless they were written by the secretary of the province, a law similar in character to the famous "stamp act" of a century later. Another unwise regulation that Kieft soon made was one affecting the Indians. On the plea that the company was put to heavy expense for forts and soldiers on their account, he levied a tribute of maize, seawan, or furs, and when they refused to pay it, threatened to compel them by force. The effect of such stringent laws on a community so mixed and impatient of re-



MYNHEER'S MORNING HORN.

straint was what a wiser man would have foreseen and guarded against. The ordinances were treated with contempt and openly violated. Prosecution and punishment followed ; there were some executions for murder and mutiny, and the little Governor, lacking the respect of his subjects, was soon involved in constant broils in the effort to maintain his authority.

We have spoken of the deplorable lack of farms in New Netherlands. To remove this state of things and promote trade, the West India Company this year, 1638, published a very important instrument, which abolished its monopoly of trade and of lands. By the provisions of this paper, any merchant in the Netherlands, "its allies or friends," might send cargoes to America in the company's ships, paying as freight ten per cent. of their value ; while "to people the lands there more and more, and to bring them into a proper state of cultivation," every immigrant to the new country was promised as much land as he "by himself and his family can properly cultivate," provided he paid after four years of cultivation one tenth of the produce to the company.

Religious freedom had always been enjoyed in New Netherlands, and these generous terms attracted a large immigration not only from Europe, but from New England, where the Puritans were beginning to prosecute the Quakers and Anabaptists, and drive them from the country.

Scarcely was this matter settled when another foreign invasion threatened New Netherlands, and put the fiery Director in a glow of martial rage

and patriotism. The Swedes this time were intent on carving a slice from Dutch territory. The attempt is interesting, as showing how nearly every great nation of Europe was concerned in the settlement of our country. Sweden had long turned a covetous eye upon America, and her Parliament, in the time of the great Gustavus Adolphus (1626), had created a corporation similar in character to the Dutch West India Company for its settlement, but the German war and death of Gustavus on the field of Lutzen (1632) prevented the company from being organized. Minuit had doubtless heard of this fact, and on being dismissed from his government had hurried to the good Swedish Queen Christina, and had offered his services, the result being that as Director Kieft sat in his great chair of state one day, a breathless messenger hurried in with news that a Swedish frigate and her tender had sailed into Delaware Bay, and up the river, until brought to by the guns of the Dutch Fort Nassau. He further said that the frigate was commanded by Peter Minuit, who, though ordered by Peter Mey, the Dutch commander, to halt and show his commission, had refused, saying: "My queen hath as much right here as thou; I shall pass, therefore, and erect a fort to be called by her name." Director Kieft is said to have been thrown into paroxysms of rage by this news, but as soon as he could control himself, he sat down and dictated, by his secretary, Van Tienhoven, a truculent message to Minuit, which is so good an example of the style and thought of the men of that day that we print it, without further apology.



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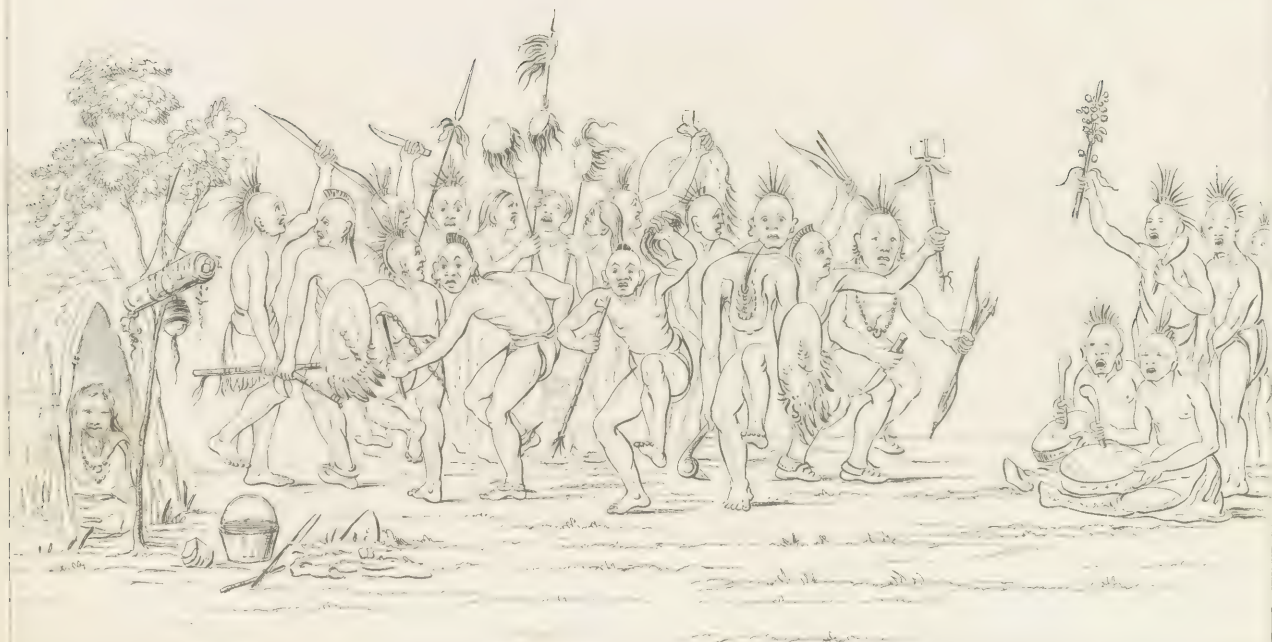
NEW AMSTERDAM — 1643.

“I, Wilhem Kieft, Director General of New Netherland, residing in the island of Manhattan, in the Fort Amsterdam, under the government of the High and Mighty States-General of the United Netherlands and the West India Company privileged by the Senate Chamber in Amsterdam, make known to thee, Peter Minuit, who stylest thyself commander in the service of Her Majesty, the Queen of Sweeden, that the whole South River of New Netherland, both upper and lower, has been our property for many years, occupied with our forts, and sealed by our blood, which also was done when thou wast in the service of New Netherland, and is therefore well known to thee. But as thou art come between our forts to erect a fort to our damage and injury, which we will never permit, as we also believe Her Swedish Majesty hath not empowered thee to erect fortifications on our coasts and rivers, or to settle people on the lands adjoining, or to undertake any other thing to our prejudice; now therefore we protest against all such encroachments and all the evil consequences from the same, as bloodshed, sedition, and whatever injury our trading company may suffer, and declare that we shall protect our rights in every manner that may be advisable.”

This document he despatched to Minuit by his commissary Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam. Minuit however treated the protest with contempt, and continued building his fort, which stood nearly on the present site of the city of Wilmington. Kieft did not dare attack him, his timidity arising from the fact that though a tyrant he was also amenable to the chamber in Amsterdam.

It is not necessary to give an extended account of Kieft's subsequent acts. His reign was marked by

cruelty to the Indians—which in return brought savage vengeance on the colony—and by oppression of the people. One day in 1640, word came that some swine turned loose in the forests of Staten Island to feed on mast were missing. The Director at once asserted that the Raritan Indians had stolen them, and sent out a company of men-at-arms with orders to kill, burn, and destroy. The soldiers surrounded the unfortunate tribe in their village, slaughtered them without mercy, burned their wigwams and cornfields, and returned—to learn that a party of the company's servants on their way to Virginia had taken the swine. The Raritans in return descended on the bouwerie of De Vries at Staten Island, killed four of his planters, and burned his house and tobacco-barn. Kieft, frenzied with rage, now swore to exterminate the Raritans, although he had been enjoined by the company to keep peace with the Indians. He offered his allies, the River Indians, ten fathoms of wampum for every head of a Raritan, and twenty fathoms each for the heads of those who had committed the Staten Island massacre. This reward set five hundred human hounds on the trail of the wretched Raritans, and in a few days Pacham, the chief of the Tankitikes, who resided about Sing Sing, brought in, dangling on the end of a stick, the head of the chief who had slain De Vries' men. At the same time, so fierce was the hunt that the Raritans came in and begged for peace. Another day there arose a great outcry in the village, and the gossips learned that an inoffensive old man, Claes Smit, the village wheelwright and a general fa-



vorite, had been murdered in his cottage in the suburbs, where he lived alone, and it was soon known that the murderer was the Weckquaesgek Indian, whose uncle had been murdered twenty years before in the time of Peter Minuit. Kieft promptly demanded the murderer from the Weckquaesgek chief, but the chief refused the demand. "He was sorry," he said, "that twenty Christians had not been killed." The Indian had but performed a pious duty in avenging an uncle whom the Dutch had slain twenty years before." The Director would have declared war at once, but feared the people, who were beginning to murmur at the results of his Indian policy, which threatened them all with the torch and tomahawk of the savage. A little cowed by these complaints Kieft made a concession to popular rights—he called a meeting at the fort, of the patroons and heads of families to advise with him in the emergency, and this meeting, quick to improve the occasion, appointed a council of twelve wise men to advise with the Director in the affair, much to the latter's disgust. The council, with Captain De Vries at its head, advised delay in declaring war for three reasons: the crops were still unharvested; the cattle in the woods; and the people scattered about on their farms. In the winter, they argued, these conditions would not exist, while the Indians could be taken at great disadvantage. The impatient governor was therefore forced to wait until the winter had set in.

In January the twelve gave their consent, and at the same time ventured to call the Director's attention to certain evils in his government, and to ask

for their removal, as well as for certain concessions to popular rights—a council being one of them. Kieft promised fairly at the time, but soon after issued a proclamation dismissing the council, which had been called to advise on the murder of Claes Smit, and, “which now being done,” he thanked them for the trouble they had taken, and promised to make use of their written advice with “God’s help and fitting time,” “but,” concluded the paper: “we propose no more meetings, as such tend to dangerous consequences and to the great injury both of the country and of our authority.” The calling of any assemblies or meetings in future was therefore prohibited, on pain of punishment. Being now unfettered in action, Kieft ordered his ensign, Hendrick Van Dyck, to proceed with eighty soldiers from the fort against the Weckquaesgeks, and punish them with fire and sword. The party set out on its errand, but became bewildered in the forests and returned without having even seen the foe. The Weckquaesgeks, however, soon discovered the trail pointing toward their village, and, alarmed at the dangers they had but barely escaped, came in and sued for peace.

In 1643, the governor’s policy provoked a general Indian war—the gravest misfortune that could have befallen the colony. In this war the River Indians, the Connecticut Indians, and the Long Island tribes formed a confederation to exterminate the Dutch. Fifteen hundred savage warriors were arrayed against two hundred and fifty whites. Soon the outlying farms and settlements were attacked and given to the flames, their people being killed or driven in terror



BORDER ENCOUNTER.

to the fort; and as the Indians continued to increase in numbers, the people were in mortal terror lest the fort itself should be taken. We at this distance can have little conception of the terror and dismay which beset the people in those troublous times. The Director acted like one bereft of his senses. He would not listen to counsel; his troops in their expeditions were ordered to spare no one. Terrible massacres, at which humanity shudders, were committed by his stern orders.

In February, 1643, for instance, the Weckquaesgek and Tappaen tribes came fleeing breathless and trembling to the fort for protection. The Mohawks, they said, had made a descent on them and had slain seventy of their people, besides carrying many into captivity. Every instinct of humanity would seem to have pleaded for these helpless refugees, but Kieft, deaf to the entreaties of the humane De Vries and others, sent a force which surprised them at night and butchered every one, man, woman, and child, in cold blood. An expedition against the Canarsees, in 1644, destroyed one hundred and twenty warriors with the loss of but one man killed and three wounded. Again, in February, 1645, the Stamford tribe of Indians was surprised in their village as they were celebrating a festival, their wigwams were burned, and between five and six hundred men, women, and children perished by fire and sword. These massacres, we may be sure, were avenged by the allied tribes to the full extent of their powers. Meantime De Vries had retired to Holland in disgust, and the people had sent petition after petition

to the home authorities, reciting the crimes and arbitrary acts of the Director, and demanding his recall. But the influence of the Patroon Van Rensselaer and other of Kieft's friends was so powerful in Amsterdam that for a long time these complaints were unheeded. At length, in the spring of 1645, on the colonists threatening to desert the island in a body unless the Director was removed, he was recalled, and Petrus Stuyvesant was appointed in his stead. Kieft will not again appear in our history in any official capacity. In taking leave of him it is but just to set over against the evil that he wrought, the good that he did. For he certainly did much to make Manhattan Island more beautiful and habitable. He straightened the streets and enacted laws for keeping them in better sanitary condition. He repaired the fort and other public buildings, and set out orchards and gardens, and encouraged others to do so. He built, in 1642, a great stone tavern, which later became the Stadt Huys or City Hall, and he began within the fort and nearly finished a large stone church, to be paid for in part by the company's funds, and in part by popular subscriptions; and the dwellings that he built for the company's servants and on the company's farms were of such character as to add much to the beauty and solidity of the future city.



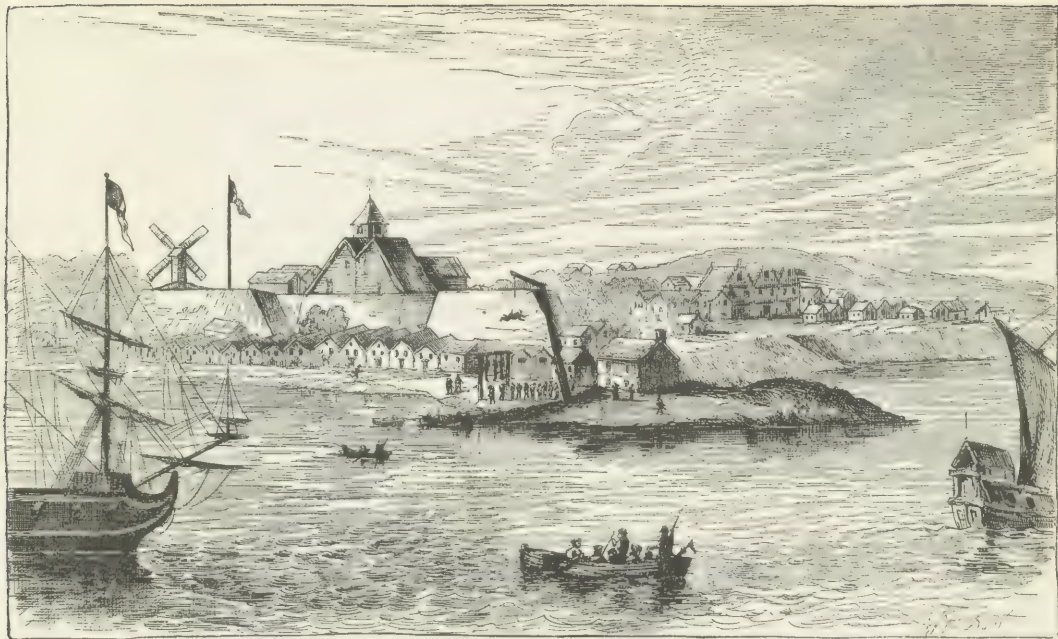
DUTCH STADT HUYS, OR CITY HALL, NEW-YORK,

Built 1602.—Razed 1700.

Now 71 and 73 Pearl-street.

[Engraved by Anderson, for the New-York Mirror.]

"In 1673," says Mr. Watson, in his *Sketches of Olden Times in New-York*, "almost all the houses presented their gable ends to the street; and all the most important public buildings, such as 'Stuyvesant Huys,' on the water edge, at present Moore and Front streets; and the 'Stadt Huys,' or City Hall, on Pearl-street, at the head of Coenties-slip, were then set on the fore ground, to be the more readily seen from the river. The chief part of the town of that day lay along the East river, (called *Salt river* in early days,) and descending from the high ridge of ground along the line of the Broadway. A great artificial dock for vessels lay between 'Stuyvesant Huys' above referred to, and the bridge over the *Canal* at its debouche on the present Broad-street.





IV.

PETRUS STUYVESANT.

WE may be sure that the news of a new governor was received with the wildest delight by the oppressed people, and that long before his appearance in New Netherland, his personal history, character, and appearance were known and had been freely canvassed. He was a native of Friesland, the gossips said, son of a clergyman there. Educated to the profession of arms, most of his life had been spent in the service of the West India Company, in those brilliant battles, sieges, naval combats, and descents against the Spanish in the West Indies and South America, which, if they had ever found a competent historian, would form one of the most brilliant episodes in American colonial history. As governor of Curaçoa, Stuyvesant had undertaken to reduce the Portuguese island of St. Martin, and, losing a leg in the action, had returned to Holland for medical advice. There the West India Company had seized on him as the proper person to bring order and prosperity to their mismanaged colony. His portrait shows him to have been a marked character,—strong, intellectual, ener-



Johann Jacob

getic, austere, an autocrat by nature and training. The colonists therefore derived little comfort from his appointment. It was regarded as meaning that the company would still continue its despotic form of government. But any thing was preferable to that under which they had suffered for ten years; and when, on the 11th of May, 1647, Stuyvesant's fleet was reported below, the whole populace, ex-Director and all, hastened to the landing to welcome him. It was quite a gallant fleet of four large vessels, and it bore a noble company—the Director, his wife, a beautiful and accomplished lady; Mrs. Bayard, the governor's widowed sister, and her three boys; the Vice-Director, and Council, which had been appointed in Holland as a check to the Director; soldiers and colonists. They had been on their way since the Christmas before, having steered south to Curaçoa and the West Indies on some business of the Director's. As the party came to land, the people waved their hats and handkerchiefs, and the guns of the fort thundered a salute. Kieft then made an address of welcome, to which the new magistrate responded in a way that did not at all please his hearers. His air and bearing, they observed, was that of a prince come to reign over conquered subjects. "I shall be in my government as a father over his children, for the advantage of the privileged West India Company, the burghers, and the country," he told them. The new Director was inaugurated on the 27th of May, and his speech on the occasion confirmed the ill impression produced by his former remarks. Said an eye-witness: "He kept the people

standing, with their heads uncovered, for more than an hour, while he wore his chapeau as if he were the Czar of Muscovy." The same day Stuyvesant announced his council, which had been appointed, as we have seen, in Holland. Lubbertus Van Dinclage to be Vice-Director, and La Montague, Adraen Keyser, and Captain Bryant Newton, an Englishman, who had been twenty years in the company's employ, to be counsellors. The former secretary, Van Tienhoven, was retained. Hendrick Van Dyck was made Schout-fiscal. Two new offices had been created—an English secretary and interpreter, and a master of equipage. A court of justice was also established, with Van Dinclage as presiding judge, and the Director acting as a court of appeals—a concession to the people,

Stuyvesant's name has become classic through the pages of Knickerbocker, and the portrait of him there given comes much nearer the truth of history than those of his predecessors in office. His long reign of seventeen years was marked by some events of great importance, though all were overshadowed by his last act, the surrender of the city to the English. We will consider these events in their order, with special reference to their influence on the fortunes of the city.

The Director's first act taught the people that no concessions might be expected from him. Cornelis Melyn, the president, and Jochim Pietersen Kuyter, a member of the council appointed by the people in Kieft's day, having lost heavily in the Indian war, petitioned that an inquiry as to its causes might be



Drawn for D T Valentines Manual 1851

by G Hayward 120 Water St

Diederich Knickerbocker recording the gallant actions and achievements of the chivalric Peter Stuyvesant.

made, and that the testimony of citizens under oath might be taken for use in an investigation of the case before the company in Holland. Stuyvesant appointed a commission to decide on the merits of the petition; but considering it a dangerous precedent for the people to call any acts of their rulers in question, he went before the commission and told them that in his opinion "the two malignant fellows were disturbers of the peace, and that it was treason to complain of one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not." The petition was therefore refused. But the matter was not allowed to rest here. Kieft, secure of the favor of the governor, had the two burghers arrested on a charge of "rebellion and sedition." Their trial followed quickly, Stuyvesant himself occupying the bench with the newly-appointed judge, Van Dinclage, by his side. It was a remarkable trial in its way—one in which justice was outraged and humanity had little place. There were no lawyers to be had, and the prisoners pleaded their own case—and made an able defence. They proved the truth of the charges against Kieft, and that in preferring them they were not moved by vindictive feelings. They admitted having complained to the company, as they believed they had a right to. All had been done openly. Yet in the face of the law and evidence the prisoners were declared guilty. Hanging them was for a time seriously considered. The right of appeal was denied. "If I was persuaded that you would bring this matter before their High Mightinesses, I would have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland," said Stuyvesant, as he

pronounced their sentence, which for Melyn was banishment for seven years and a fine of three hundred guilders, and for Kuyter banishment for three years and a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. This act of Stuyvesant, regarded from any standpoint, must be pronounced most impolitic and unfortunate. He meddled in a quarrel which did not concern him, and which might well have been referred to the company at home. He angered the people, and he did not save his prerogative; for his action violated both the law and traditions of the fatherland, and brought on him a stinging rebuke, when, in 1649, Melyn returned restored to his full rights, and bearing a summons to the governor from the States-General and Prince of Orange to appear before them and answer for his conduct, either in person or by his attorney. But we anticipate. At the time of the trial the ship *Princess* was about to sail for Holland, and the banished men took passage on her. With them sailed Domine Bogardus, Kieft and his ill-gotten fortune, and a large company—in all over one hundred souls. The *Princess*, however, never reached her destination, for a fierce storm overtook her and drove her violently on the rocky Welsh coast. Kuyter and Melyn, with some eighteen others, escaped. Kieft, Domine Bogardus, and the rest of the ship's company perished. Kieft's fate excited little sorrow either at home or in his former government; it was generally accepted as a fitting retribution. Said De Vries in Holland, on hearing of his death: "I told William Kieft in 1643 that I doubted not that vengeance for the innocent blood



A VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1656.

THE CHURCH BUILT IN THE FORT, [NOW THE BATTERY,] IN 1642.

he had shed in his murderings would sooner or later come on his head." Soon after his coming, Stuyvesant called a public meeting, which named nine men to advise and assist him in the government. His next step of importance was a journey to Hartford (not Boston, as Diedrich Knickerbocker records) to confer with the authorities there on boundaries, runaway slaves, the attitude of the Indians, and other vexed questions. The Director went by vessel in military state, with a retinue of servants, trumpeters, and men-at-arms, and four days after setting out reached the Connecticut capital, where he was received with equal state by Governor Winthrop and the dignitaries of New England there assembled. After a week spent in discussion, it was agreed to submit the questions at issue to arbitrators; and after remaining several days longer, fêted and feasted by his very good friends, the Director-General returned as he had gone to his seat of empire. But he soon found that he had acted unwisely: his somewhat refractory subjects were jealous of his friendship with the English; and the fact that he had entrusted the interests of New Netherlands to the two English arbitrators was made the cause of fresh charges against him at home. It was charged that the Director looked for support to his English rather than to his Dutch subjects, which was perhaps true, for the monarchical English were no doubt much more to the Director's taste than the republican Dutch.

In the fifth year of Stuyvesant's reign, April, 1652, a great event occurred. New Amsterdam was made a city—endowed with municipal rights.

Two hundred and thirty-five years have passed since then, and for that reason the reader will wish to know all that can be known of this first city charter. It was modelled after the ancient charter of Amsterdam, which provided for the election by the people of a schout, four burgomasters, nine schepens, and an advisory council of thirty-six men. The first fourteen comprised the board of city fathers, and made the laws and ordinances governing the city. They were the "Fathers of the Burghery," guardians of the city poor, of widows and orphans, principal church-wardens, and farmers of the excise, and they held in trust and managed the city's funds and franchises. No burgher could be seized for debt unless it was done in their presence; no sentence of death could be pronounced without their consent, or executed without they were present. They were custodians of the city seal; all official documents were drawn in their name, and they had authority to preserve the peace of the city even to the calling out of the burgher guard. They also constituted a city court for the trial of civil and criminal cases. Both boards were of great antiquity, the board of schepens dating back to the year 1270, and that of burgomasters to the fourteenth century.

In granting to New Amsterdam this great dignity the company limited the number of burgomasters to two, and of schepens to five, and stipulated that they should be elected by the citizens as in the city of Amsterdam. Governor Stuyvesant proclaimed the new city on the 2d of February, 1653, at the feast of Candlemas, but instead of allowing



the people to choose their own officers as the company had directed, he proceeded to appoint them, and he gave the city fathers to understand that their existence would not lessen his authority, but that he should preside at their meetings when he deemed it necessary, and advise them in matters of importance. It was a privilege very distasteful to the autocratic governor, and he did all he could to restrict the people in their enjoyment of it. The two burgomasters named were Arent Van Hattan and Martin Cregier, the latter a man of importance in the city, captain of the burgher guard and landlord of a popular tavern situated opposite the Bowling Green. The five schepens were Paulus Van der Grist, commander of the *Gellert*, Stuyvesant's flag-ship, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, a wholesale merchant, Petro Van Couwenhoven, and William Beekman, the ancestor of the Beekman family in New York, who had come over in the same ship with Stuyvesant, and who later rose to distinction in the government. The old stone tavern built by Kieft was remodelled, cleaned, and furbished up and set apart as a Stadt Huys or City Hall, and here the city fathers held their sessions. So on that far-off February day the city came into being. It contained about fifteen hundred inhabitants, some three hundred houses, a few of stone, but most of them rude wooden structures, no trade of its own, and scarcely farms enough to supply it with the necessities of life. Two years now passed without incident. In the December of 1654 Stuyvesant decided to make a voyage to the West Indies. His jurisdiction also



A Schepen laughing at a
BURGOMASTERS JOKE.

FOR THE VALENTINES MANUAL

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included the islands of Curaçoa, Buenaire, and Aruba, and he wished to see how affairs were progressing there ; he thought, too, that he might be able to arrange for a trade with the Spanish possessions in that quarter. News of this voyage created quite an excitement in the little city. The Common Council called a special meeting, and resolved that, "*Whereas*, The Right Honorable Peter Stuyvesant, intending to depart, the burgomasters and schepens shall compliment him before he takes his gallant voyage, and shall for this purpose provide a gay repast on Wednesday next in the Council Chamber of the City Hall." The dinner came off and was a grand affair, with a long list of edibles, Jamaica rum, potent Hollands, and rare old Madeira in abundance. Under its influence the austere governor mellowed, and, in a happy speech, presented the city with its long-delayed seal. The city fathers crowded round to examine it. It bore the arms of old Amsterdam—three crosses *saltier*, with a beaver for a crest, and above on the mantle the initial letters C. W. I. C., meaning the "Chartered West India Company." A wreath of laurel encircled the legend, "*Sigillum Amstellæ Fœmensis in Novo Belgio*" (Seal of Amsterdam in New Belgium).

The governor returned in July of the same year to find awaiting him a message from Holland that inflamed all his military ardor. It was an order to drive the Swedes from the South River, where, as we have seen, they had been planted by Director Minuit in Kieft's time. Never had he set about executing an order from Holland

with greater alacrity. His trumpeters were sent out to beat up town and country for volunteers. Three armed vessels had been provided by the directors. The city fathers furnished one. Three more were chartered, and on Sunday, September 5th, "after the sermon," seven vessels, with a force of seven hundred men on board, including the *Domine Megapolensis*, sailed out into the ocean. There were two Swedish forts and settlements on the Delaware—Trinity and Christina; the latter near the present site of Wilmington, the other a few miles below. On Friday the fleet appeared before Fort Trinity, and the trumpeters were sent to demand its surrender. Captain Schute, the commander, asked time to consult with Governor Risingh at Christina, but this was denied; then he asked for an armistice till next morning, which was granted. When morning came he demanded as conditions of surrender that he should be allowed to march out with his body-guard of twelve men, fully accoutred and colors flying, the other soldiers to retain their side-arms, and the commander and other officers their private property. Stuyvesant willingly granted these terms, and on Saturday the Dutch troops took possession. Next day *Domine Megapolensis* preached a "sermon of thanksgiving," in return for the bloodless victory. Stuyvesant, like a good general, pushed on at once to invest Fort Christina, where Governor Risingh with the balance of the Swedish force, comprising some thirty men, was entrenched. Again the trumpeters sounded their demand, but Governor Risingh showed a disposition to parley and to argue the mat-



ter. He recited the whole history of the Swedish occupation, and proved that the present attack was a gross outrage on a people with whom the Netherlands were at peace, and only to be justified on the plea that "might makes right." The parley lasted for several days; at length Stuyvesant, finding himself worsted in the argument, became angry, and threatened to assault the fort and "to give no quarter," unless the Swedes promptly surrendered. On the 25th, therefore, their colors were lowered, and the Swedish empire in the New World ceased to exist. Governor Risingh, however, succeeded in making generous terms for himself and people. They were to "march out with their arms, colors flying, matches lighted, drums beating, and fifes playing." The cannon were to be sent to Sweden, if desired. Such Swedes as wished to remain were to be protected in their rights of person and property.

Thus without bloodshed New Sweden fell, but in the first flush of victory a courier arrived with such terrible news that the governor forgot his triumph, and hastened back with all possible speed to his capital. The Indian was again on the war-path, and a general massacre of the Dutch was threatened. This was the story the courier told. A few days after the fleet had left, ex-Sheriff VanDyck surprised an Indian woman in his orchard stealing peaches one morning, and shot her dead on the spot. The murder provoked her tribe to vengeance. Knowing that the governor and militia were away, they rapidly gathered the warriors of all the river tribes, the Connecticut and Long Island Indians, into an army, and

suddenly appeared before the city, nineteen hundred strong, in sixty-four canoes. It was just at day-break, September 15, 1655, that the savages spread through the city, breaking into a few houses on the pretence of looking for enemy Indians, but, probably to satisfy themselves that the murderer, Van Dyck, was in the city. The burgomasters and schepens went around among them in a kindly way, and asked to see their sachems, and when they had gathered them in the fort, prevailed on them to call their forces out of the city. The Indians retired to Nutten (now Governor's) Island, but soon after dusk returned, hastened to the house of Van Dyck, and killed him. Schepen Van der Grist, who lived next door, hurried out and was stricken down by an Indian with an axe. At once the hue and cry of murder was raised. The few remaining soldiers, with the burgher guard, sprang to arms, and, after a brisk action, drove the savages off, killing three and wounding others. The Indians, enraged at this punishment, hastened to Hoboken and Pavonia, where they killed every person they could find, and ravaged the plantations; thence they hurried to Staten Island and other parts of New Jersey, where the same scenes were enacted.

In three days one hundred men, women, and children were murdered, and as many more made captives. Twenty-eight fruitful plantations were wholly laid waste, and property to the value of eighty thousand dollars destroyed. Quite as bad in its results was the general feeling of terror and insecurity that prevailed, driving farmers from their boweries, and retarding settlement of the country.

Stuyvesant, on his return, acted much more wisely than Kieft had done on a similar occasion. Instead of retaliating, he called the Indian chiefs together, and by kind words and presents succeeded in placating them and restoring confidence.

The last years of Stuyvesant's reign were marred by cruel religious persecutions, which seem the more cruel because they were in open violation of the company's instructions as well as the traditions of father-land. "Allow *all* the free exercise of their religion in their own houses," said the company, but the Director would recognize only the Dutch Reformed Church. He sent back to Holland the Rev. Ernestus Goetwater, a Lutheran minister, who was sent over in 1656 by his co-religionists to found a Lutheran Church in his city; and he fined and imprisoned Lutheran parents who refused to have their children baptized in the Dutch Church. By and by he did much harsher things than these. One day, hearing that a Baptist clergyman in Flushing who had not been licensed by him had administered the Sacrament and baptized some converts, he ordered him brought before him, and fined him one thousand pounds and banished him from the province. The Quakers, however, met with the harshest treatment. Many of these peculiar people had been banished from New England about this time, and had taken refuge in New Netherlands, where they met the hearty reprobation of the clergy and the Director. Domine Megapolensis complained that the scum of New England was drifting into New Netherlands. Domine Dresius boldly asked the Director why he

harbored persons who were driven from the other colonies as worse than a pestilence. By and by Robert Hodshone, an Englishman, a leading Quaker, began preaching in Hempstead. One day, soon after, while walking in his garden, he was seized and brought before a magistrate of Hempstead, one Richard Gildersleeve, who bound him over for trial, and hastened to acquaint Stuyvesant with the facts. The latter, all zeal, ordered his schout-fiscal to proceed that evening with a guard of musketeers and secure the prisoner and his effects. This was done. The soldiers seized Hodshone, bound and tied him securely, face down, to the rear end of a cart. Two women, one with a babe at the breast, who had been arrested for sheltering the preacher in their houses, were then placed in the vehicle, and the cavalcade took its slow way to the city. We can imagine the laughter and rude jests it elicited, as it wound through the streets to the common gaol, where the prisoners were thrust into separate dungeons. In a few days the Director and council met in the City Hall to dispose of Hodshone's case, and pronounced sentence—a fine of two hundred and forty dollars, and in default of payment, two years' hard labor with a negro at the wheelbarrow. Having neither money nor friends to discharge his fine, the prisoner was chained to the barrow with the negro malefactor; he was quite as obstinate as his persecutors, however, and refused to work, saying that he knew not how to do manual labor, and could not endure it if he did. The poor man was imprisoned, cruelly beaten, hung up by the thumbs, and otherwise ill-



treated, but would not yield. At last, on the appeal of Mrs. Bayard, the Director's sister, he was set at liberty. This severity excited the general horror of the people, and although many more arrests were made, the governor did not again proceed to such extremities.

Thus for years, slave to a despotic governor, vassal to a private corporation, controlled by a people with no genius for colonization, the city struggled for existence, and was outstripped in the race by every one of the several English colonies on the north and on the south. But in the year 1664 there came a turn of fortune's wheel, and New York also became an English colony. England, as we have tried to make prominent in the preceding pages, had never relinquished her claim to the territory covered by New Netherlands. In the year 1664, believing that the fruit was ripe, she stretched forth her hand and plucked it. Events all through the reign of Stuyvesant had been leading up to this consummation. Charles I. of England had been deposed and beheaded. Oliver Cromwell had governed as Protector, and after his death, by a natural reaction, the monarchy was restored and Charles II. ascended the throne of his father. Charles was a weak, pleasure-loving king, and the management of foreign affairs fell into the hands of his ministers and of his abler brother, the Duke of York. From this moment aggressions began upon the little strip of Dutch territory in America, which were intended to sweep it out of existence. In 1662, because a man whom he very much liked—John Winthrop the younger—



LEO LIONHEART

desired it, Charles granted to Connecticut a charter which gave her jurisdiction over the territory bounded east by Narragansett Bay, north by the Massachusetts line, south by the sea, and west by *the Pacific Ocean*, with all the islands "thereunto belonging." Lord Baltimore, proprietor of the colony of Maryland, claimed the Dutch possessions on the South River under his charter, its northern boundary being the fortieth parallel. In 1664, however, ignoring these prior grants, Charles gave to James, Duke of York, the entire territory claimed by the Dutch, and that energetic nobleman at once set about taking forcible possession of his property. He had no love for the Dutch, by whom he had once been libelled without being able to obtain satisfaction. Besides, personal interest was involved. He was Governor of the Royal African Company, an association of merchants which traded to the Gold Coast, and which had been nearly driven from the field by the superior business talent of their Dutch competitors. He was also quite ready to provoke a war with Holland, in which he might distinguish himself, and thus fix the attention of the nation upon himself, for he already had his eye on the throne. Nor were the ministers of King Charles at all backward in aiding the prince in these ambitious designs. Four men-of-war, the *Guinea* of thirty-six guns, the *Elias* of thirty, the *Martin* of sixteen, and the *William and Nicholas* of ten, were borrowed of the king, and four hundred and fifty soldiers—men of the line, under command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, a veteran officer—were placed on board of

them. Colonel Nicolls was appointed Deputy Governor of the province when it should be taken. Under him were three commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, who were given power to erect the conquered territory into an English colony. These men also bore orders to the governors of the New England colonies to furnish men and means to aid in conquering the Dutch. The fleet left Portsmouth about the middle of May, 1664, and arrived at Boston late in July. Here the commissioners made their demand on the Massachusetts authorities for aid, and also on Connecticut by an express sent to Governor Winthrop at Hartford. Massachusetts, whose Puritan sympathies were not heartily enlisted in King Charles' cause, responded tardily, but Connecticut, which had been in almost constant collision with the Dutch on her western border, gladly aided the enterprise. Meantime peace and tranquillity brooded over New Amsterdam. Not the slightest preparation had been made to receive an enemy. Of the thirteen hundred pounds of powder in the fort seven hundred were unserviceable. There were one hundred and fifty regular soldiers to garrison it, and two hundred and fifty militia, but these so heartily detested the Director that they could not be depended on in an emergency. No provision had been made for a siege.

A certain merchant, one Richard Lord, of Lyme in Connecticut, sent his vessels both to Boston and New Amsterdam. He reached Manhattan from Boston, about the time the English fleet was expected

there, and informed Stuyvesant that it was common rumor in Boston that the fleet was intended for the Dutch. The Director and council, alarmed, began active preparations for defence, but on the heels of the merchant came a letter from the Amsterdam Chamber, saying that the English fleet need not be feared, that Charles had only sent a few ships to introduce Episcopacy in New England. All efforts were therefore relaxed, and a few days later the Director set out for Albany, on official business, but before he could finish it, a messenger, spurring in hot haste, reached him with news that Nicolls had left Boston for New Amsterdam, and that the city was in hourly expectation of an attack. It would be interesting could we analyze the emotions of the Director in the mad gallop back to his capital, which followed. Probably rage that both he and the Amsterdam Chamber had been so cleverly duped by the caitiff Englishman was the ruling passion. Twenty-four hours after reaching home, as he walked the fort parapet, he saw the red-cross flag of St. George gleam in the lower bay, and caught the dim outlines of the *Guinea* moving up through the mist. Evidently the threatened English invasion was near.

Stuyvesant's faults were those of a soldier. He had also the virtues of a soldier: bravery, energy, and decision of character were among the latter. He at once determined to hold the town against all odds. And yet it seemed almost an act of madness. The fort at the Battery would protect only that point, and there was the town behind exposed to the enemy's frigates on both sides. He could mus-

ter but four hundred men all told, and of these a number were Englishmen and not to be depended on. He had an uneasy feeling, too, that his own countrymen would willingly exchange his iron rule for that of the duke, if they could be assured of protection. Nevertheless, he began active preparations to withstand a siege. Every third man was ordered to repair to the defences with spade, shovel, or wheelbarrow, which many refused to do. A guard was placed at the city gates; the brewers were forbidden to make grain into malt; the Director's slaves were set to thrashing grain at his farm, and conveying it to the fort. The frigates anchored in a cluster in the bay, and a messenger was despatched to Stuyvesant with a summons to surrender.

"On this unexpected letter," say the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam in their account of the capture to the West India Company dated September 16, 1664—"On this unexpected letter the Heer General sent for us to determine what was to be done in the matter. Whereupon it was resolved to send some commissioners thither to argue the matter with the General and his three commissioners, who were so sent for this purpose twice, but received no answer except that they were not come here to dispute about it, but to execute their order and commission without fail . . . Three days' delay was demanded for consultation. That was duly allowed, but meanwhile they were not idle. They approached with their four frigates, two of which passed in front of the fort. The others anchored about Nooten (Governor's) Island, and sent five companies of soldiers who encamped themselves at the ferry opposite



GOV. STUYVESANT'S HOUSE, ERECTED 1658, AFTERWARDS CALLED "THE WHITEHALL."

this place (Fulton ferry, Brooklyn), together with a newly raised company of horse and a party of new soldiers both from the north (Connecticut) and Long Island, mostly all our deadly enemies, who expected nothing else than pillage, plunder, and bloodshed, as men could perceive by their cursing and talking."

Nicolls on his part performed his delicate mission with the tact of the accomplished soldier and courtier. On his arrival he issued a proclamation couched in the kindest, most conciliatory terms, offering to every one who would submit, life, liberty, estate, and the fullest enjoyment of every right whether of person or property. These he scattered as fire-brands in the enemy's camp, and waited, hoping to secure the prize without incurring the odium of firing on a town filled with women and children. Meantime, while the commissioners were going to and fro, the city was in a ferment. There lay the frigates with the black muzzles of their guns looking on the town,—silent monitors. An inkling of Nicolls' proclamation had reached the people, and they clamored for submission. Stuyvesant sternly refused. The city fathers counselled delay, and an urging on of the preparations for defence, that better terms might be obtained. Nicolls' formal summons to surrender had been made on Saturday, August 30th. He had omitted to sign it, and it was returned that the informality might be remedied, thus giving the besieged precious time. All day Sunday men wrought on the defences. On Tuesday morning a row-boat left the fleet and approached the city. It contained six dignified gentlemen, men of mark, the command-

ing figure of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, whom Stuyvesant had met in council and at fête during his memorable visit to Hartford, being conspicuous. They were met at the wharf with stately courtesy, a salute was fired in their honor, and they were conducted to the City Hall, where Stuyvesant and his council were waiting to receive them. Winthrop broached his mission, which was to deliver a letter from Colonel Nicolls, and to urge the Director to give over a hopeless struggle, and submit to the English. Many weighty arguments were advanced with the persuasive eloquence for which the elder Winthrop was famous, but all in vain. The lion-hearted Director would defend the city to the last. On taking leave Winthrop left the letter from Colonel Nicolls. Unsealing it Stuyvesant read :

“MR. WINTHROP:—As to those particulars you spoke to me, I do assure you that if the Manhadoes be delivered up to his Majesty, I shall not hinder but that any people from the Netherlands may freely come and plant there, or thereabouts ; and such vessels of their own country may freely come thither, and any of them may as freely return home in vessels of their own country, and this and much more is contained in the privilege of his Majesty’s English subjects ; and thus much you may, by what means you please, assure the Governor, from, Sir,

“Your very affectionate servant,

“RICHARD NICOLLS.”

It was a very timely and politic document. The burgomasters, at once asked that it be read to the citizens, who had gathered *en masse* outside to hear the result of the conference, but Stuyvesant feared its



effect on them, and refused ; a wordy quarrel ensued ; at last the Director, in a burst of passion, tore the offending letter to pieces, whereupon Cornelis Steenwyck condemned this violence in no measured terms, and with his fellow-officials quitted the place. The people received the news with suppressed rage, and covert threats, and presently deputed three prominent citizens to call on the Director and demand the paper. The fragments were shown them, but they demanded the letter. Stuyvesant himself appeared before the people, and tried to reason with them, but his voice was drowned in clamorous shouts for the letter. "That," said Stuyvesant, "was addressed to the officers of the government, and does not concern the commonalty"; but the people could not be pacified, and, amid bitter curses against the company and himself, the Director withdrew and shut himself up in the fort, while Nicholas Bayard, like the accomplished courtier that he was, joined the torn fragments of the letter, and thereupon made a copy which he read to the people, and thus partially appeased them. Still the murmuring was deep and loud.

"Why should we fight for the governor and company?" we can fancy them saying. "He has always treated us as children and slaves, and the company has regarded us as a mere trading post for the filling of its coffers. The English colonies have had much better treatment. Look at Connecticut on the east. What a liberal charter! There the people elect their own governors and councils; make their own laws. And Maryland on the south. No man there was

ever persecuted for conscience' sake ; every man has equal rights as respects property, religion, and the suffrage. Why should we fight to sustain a despotism, and expose our property to ruin and our families to violence ? ”

So they reasoned. Meantime Stuyvesant was busily penning a letter in reply to Nicolls, in which he gave an exhaustive account of the Dutch discovery and right to Manhattan, and emphasized their claims to it. This he sent by four of his wisest councillors. But Nicolls declined argument. “ He stood on no question of right,” he said. “ If his terms were not accepted he must carry out his orders and attack.” The delegates still wished to argue the matter, but Nicolls refused. “ On Thursday I shall speak with you at the Mannhattans,” he said significantly. He was told that he would be welcome if he came in a friendly manner. “ I shall come with my ships and soldiers,” was the reply, “ and he will be a bold messenger who will dare to come on board and solicit terms.” “ What then is to be done ? ” asked one. “ Hoist the white flag of peace at the fort, and I may take something into consideration.” They entreated that the ships should not fire upon the city without warning, but he denied their request that the troops should not be brought up nearer the city. “ To-day I shall arrive at the Ferry,” he added ; “ to-morrow we can agree with one another.” On the 25th of August (old style) he landed three companies of regulars at Gravesend, and marched at their head to the Brooklyn Ferry, where the Connecticut and Long Island

volunteers were already massed. At the same time two frigates sailed up and cast anchor off Governor's Island. A little later the other two came up under full sail, with their ports open, and guns shotted, ready to pour in a broadside if opposition was made, and so ran past the fort, and came to anchor in the river above. Stuyvesant stood on the ramparts as they came on, feeling that the crisis had come. No doubt he remembered Governor Risingh and Fort Christina. Then he was the piper, and the poor Swedes danced; now the terms were reversed. As the ships came on, the old soldier's ardor was aroused, and he would have ordered his gunners to fire, but at the critical moment good Domine Megapolensis laid his hand upon his shoulder. "It is madness," said he; "what can our twenty guns do in the face of the sixty-two pointed toward us on yonder frigates? Will you be the first to shed blood?" So the ships sailed by without testing the calibre of the Dutch guns. Once past, however, the governor's resolution returned, and taking one hundred men he hurried up into the city to resist any attempt of the foe to land. But there he was met with a remonstrance signed by ninety-three of the leading citizens, including the city magistrates and the clergy, urging him to accept the terms of the English and save the city from sack. Women and children came to him and begged him with tears to save them from violence. At last the grim veteran, hero of a hundred battles, gave way. "I had rather be carried to my grave," he said, but finally he ordered the white flag raised above the fort. And thus peaceably fell New Amsterdam in the year of our Lord 1664.

The articles of capitulation were agreed on next morning. There were twenty-four of them, and they embodied in substance the terms made known by Nicolls in his proclamations and conversations with the Dutch delegates. Never were more favorable terms offered a conquered people. Citizens of every nationality were to be secured in person, property, customs, and religion. Free intercourse with Holland was to continue. The public buildings and records were to remain intact, and public officers were to hold over until the time came for a new election. For himself and his soldiers Stuyvesant asked much the same terms as he had granted to Governor Risingh under exactly similar conditions. They were to march out carrying their arms, with drums beating, colors flying, and matches lighted, and embark on the vessel which was to convey them to Holland. This programme was fully carried out on Monday, September 8th. As Stuyvesant and his troops marched out, the forces of Nicolls and Carr entered the town and raised their "meteor flag" over the fort and public buildings. In the council-chamber the grave burgo-masters and schepens proclaimed Nicolls Governor of the province. The fort was rechristened James, in honor of the duke, and the province was named New York for the same reason. Rensselaerwyck and the forts on the South River soon yielded, and thus, without bloodshed, England secured the whole wide territory of New Netherlands—a territory, it is but just to add, which she had always claimed, and to which she was clearly entitled by the law of

nations. The United Provinces exclaimed loudly against the injustice of the seizure, and waged a long and bloody war with England on account of it, quite ignoring the fact that they had committed a precisely similar act in driving the friendly Swedes from Fort Christina, on the sole plea that they had settled on territory claimed by the Dutch. The grim old Director, too, was harshly blamed for



STUYVESANT'S HOUSE.

yielding up the fort—as if he had not for the last five years, by every ship that sailed, importuned the half-moribund company to send him men and munitions of war to put it in a proper trim for a siege. Stuyvesant went to Amsterdam and made an able defence of his course. Afterwards, as all his family and property interests were in New York, he returned, and, taking up his residence at his bouwery or country-seat, he lived there, for several years, an

active and useful life, though studiously refraining from politics. His estate was a large one and cost him sixty-four hundred guilders. Its fields, sloping down to the East River, were kept in the highest state of cultivation and stocked with the finest breeds of horses, cattle, and sheep. He had there a large, roomy house of Dutch architecture, with square stone chimneys and diamond-paned windows, which was burned in 1777, to the city's permanent loss. It was surrounded by flower-gardens and orchards of peach-, pear-, and apple-trees, in which the owner took great delight. One of his pear-trees was for many years a landmark of the city. Stuyvesant brought it from Holland on his return, and set it out in his garden. The tree lived and flourished for two hundred years; and when the city streets were laid out through its ancient home, found itself exactly on the corner of Thirteenth Street and Third Avenue. There it burgeoned and fruited for many a year, never asking a penny for the golden fruit it strewn to the people so generously. At last it fell, and its clean, firm wood was cut up into mementos, and is treasured in scores of city homes to-day. Governor Stuyvesant died in 1672, and was buried in the family vault in the chapel built by himself on his farm, and which stood exactly where St. Mark's Church now stands, the original tablet of the vault being built into the east wall of the church. He whom it commemorates was a strong, heroic figure, and one may not pass it by without a thrill at the contrast between the city of to-day and that which struggled upward under his iron reign.



Look at Sereno Mace & Knapp, 440 Broadway, N. Y.

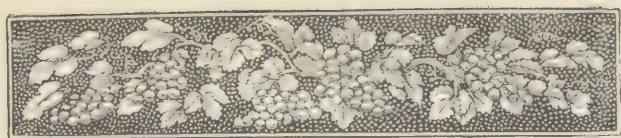
For D. T. Valentine's Manual 1861

THE OLD PEAR-TREE PLANTED BY GOVERNOR STUYVESANT,
Cor 3^d Ave & 13th St.



PETER STUYVESANT'S GRAVE.





V.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

IF in preceding chapters we have touched but lightly on the social and domestic life of the colonists, it was not because we deemed it unimportant, but from a desire to give the reader a clear and graphic sketch of the founding of New York and of the events which, like the stairway of some noble temple, led up to its settlement. But few social amenities were possible to the early settlers. The Rev. Jonas Michaelis, the first pastor, in a letter to "his beloved brother in Christ and kind friend," Rev. Adrianus Smoutius, of Holland, gives a graphic account of the trials and hardships which beset the first pioneers. His letter is dated "Island of Manhata in New Netherlands, the 16th of August, 1628." At the first celebration of the Lord's Supper, he says, they had full fifty communicants—Walloons and Dutch. The Sacrament was administered once in four months "until a larger number of people should otherwise require." The natives he found entirely savage and wild.

"Strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as

posts, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness, devilish men who serve nobody but the devil—that is, the spirit which in their language they call Manetto. . . . They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and wicked tricks, that they cannot be held in by any bands or locks. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall, and in cruelty they are more inhuman than the people of Barbary, and far exceed the Africans.”

Servants were scarce, except Angola slaves, which were “thievish, lazy, and useless trash,” and there were no horses, cows, or laborers to be had for money. The rations given out at the company’s store, and “charged for high enough,” were hard, stale food, such as was used on shipboard, and frequently “this was not good.” The Indians brought in fish and flesh of various kinds, but unless one had wares, such as knives, beads, and the like, or wampum, one could not buy. From this letter we learn that in 1628 the colonists felled much wood for father-land, that they had a grist-mill, and were building a windmill, and a “fort of good quarry stone”; that they baked brick, burned lime from oyster-shells, made salt by evaporating sea-water, and had tried to make potash from wood-ashes without success. “The country is good and pleasant,” the letter concluded, “the climate healthy notwithstanding the sudden changes of cold and heat.”

At the time of which we now write, however—the close of the Dutch dynasty,—New Amsterdam had become a city with many of the comforts and refinements of civilization. Perhaps we can best depict the people’s daily life by inviting the reader to join



OLD BRIDGE AND DOCK AT THE WHITEHALL SLIP.

us in a stroll through the city—the time a clear, cool September day in 1663. Shall we enter by this arched gate-way at Broadway and Wall Street, or by the “Water Gate,” at the point where Wall Street now meets the East River front? The latter. Then we will take the river road leading through fine old forests



BLOCK-HOUSE AND CITY GATE.

from what is now Fulton Ferry into the city. At what is now Maiden Lane we come upon a footpath leading west toward Broadway, and skirting the shores of several clear-water ponds whose outlet is a little brook purling down to the East River; and here we come upon a pretty scene—a bevy of maidens with bare, dimpled arms, some washing linen in

the ponds, others spreading it to dry on the green sward of the hill on the west. The path has been made by these maidens and their mothers, from which circumstance it is called Maagde Paatje—maidens' path, which when the English came to name the street was changed to Maiden Lane.

Chatting over the pastoral scene we ride on, and a few moments later, at the present line of Wall Street, come upon a blank wall of palisades, stretching quite across the island to the Hudson. As intelligent strangers we stop and survey the scene with interest. On the left, where the wall abuts on the water front, is a square block-house pierced for musketry, and beyond, built out into the water, a little half-moon battery of two guns, with a sentinel in gray blouse and baggy breeches patrolling it. Before us is an arched gate-way, the key of the arch grotesquely carved and surmounted with a carved cupola and gilded weathercock. The wall is of palisades—beams of wood twelve feet high, imbedded three feet deep in the earth, sharpened at the upper end, and strengthened by planks nailed transversely. There are block-houses at intervals, and *chevaux de frise* of stumps with the roots upturned, and we find on entering that it is defended within by a sod rampart and by a fosse or ditch. A good-natured burgher whom we accost tells us that the wall is 2,340 feet long and cost 3,166 guilders, and that it was built in 1653, when the people feared an attack from the Indians and English.

A broad lane 100 feet wide flanks the wall as far as Broadway, and is lined on the south side with rude



OLD DUTCH HOUSE, Kips Bay, N.Y.



OLD DUTCH HOUSE IN KIP'S BAY, N.Y. OLD DUTCH HOUSE IN KIP'S BAY, N.Y.

wooden cabins—the quarter of the chimney-sweeps and low tapsters. Numbers of the former—ragged, soot-begrimed urchins—swarm upon us with their cry of “Sweep ho!” and fight and scramble for the handful of farthings we dispense, until at length the burgher falls upon them with his cane, and drives them screaming to their dwellings. Meantime we have been riding slowly down the water-front, examining each object with the curious eye of one new to the place and people. The odd, half-moon



RIVER AND DOCK FRONT.

docks, with placid, very fat burghers seated on them, fishing and smoking; the quaint buildings with peaked, many-storied roofs, dwellings above and stores beneath; the great stone Stadt Huys, or City Hall, with its gallows in front, the Indian canoes and the shipping in the river, all amuse and interest us. The city dock, shown on the left of the picture, with a vessel inside its piers, is at this moment a busy place.

This dock was the first built on Manhattan, the

pioneer of our thirty miles or more of wharves. The merchants call it the "Hooft," and the river in front the "Roadstead." It is a busy place, as we have said. A fleet of scows is plying back and forth between the dock, and the great, clumsy, high-pooped ships anchored in the roadstead. These boats are laden with various articles, according to the cargoes of the ships they are discharging. For instance, one from a "Holland ship" carries dry-goods, hardware, and groceries of all sorts, with some of those "cow calves" and "ewe milk sheep" that formed so large a part of early Dutch imports. Another from a Virginia "ketch" is laden with hogsheads of tobacco. A third brings dried fish and English goods from the *Snow* just arrived from Boston. A fourth is laden with savage, repulsive-looking African negroes from the slave ship *White Horse*, last from the coast of Angola, on their way to the slave market to be sold at public auction. A pinke from Barbadoes is loading a fifth scow with barrels of sugar and hogsheads of molasses, while the patroon of Rensselaerwyck's sloop—yacht the burghers call it—is sending ashore bales of costly furs—beaver, otter, mink, and others,—and a galley from Curaçoa costly dyestuffs, fruits, and other tropical products. Gangs of negro slaves are on the dock receiving the goods. One of these gangs, the strangers learn, is owned by Cornelis Steenwyck, a second by Pieter Cornelissen Vanderveen, a third by Isaac Allerton, and a fourth by Govert Loockerman, the four greatest merchants of New Amsterdam at this time, and the four are there in their baggy

breeches and blue-cloth coats with silver buttons, to see that no thievery or unthrift is practised. Indeed, so careful is Cornelis Steenwyck, that he has a negro woman with needle and thread following him about to sew up any rents in bags or bales that have been consigned to him. A part of the bales, barrels, and hogshheads are rolled across the street into the merchants' warehouses, but the bulk of them are carted off to the five great stone warehouses of the company between the present Bridge and Stone Streets. Vessels were not then allowed to come to the dock for two reasons: first, to prevent smuggling; and, second, to keep the sailors on board their ships, as commanded by a city ordinance.

A guide-board off Coenties Slip warns vessels of fifty tons or under not to anchor between that board and the Battery under a heavy penalty. Another near the present Fulton Ferry forbids any vessel to anchor *above* that point. Quite a fleet of vessels are swinging at anchor between the two points, and we find ourselves studying with interest the names painted in quaint letters on their sterns. There is the *Little Fox* and the *Little Crane*, pioneer ships in the Manhattan trade, the *Herring*, man-of-war, armed with two metal guns, sixteen iron, and two stone guns, the *Flower of Guilder*, the *Sea Mew*, *Orange Tree*, *Three Kings*, *Blue Cock*, *New Netherland's Fortune*, *Black Eagle*, *Great Christopher*, *Pear Tree*, *King Solomon*, *New Netherland Indian*, *Morning Star*, and others. As we stand viewing the scene, old Gilles de Voocht, the haven-master, making his round of the wharves, draws near, and we address

him. "Aye," he replies, "a rare fleet, driven in mostly by the last noreaster. D'ye mind the *Hope*, there? a fine craft, a regular Amsterdam liner. Her skipper, Julian Blanck, was the first sea-captain to build a house in New Netherlands; the *New Amsterdam*, yonder is another regular packet, Captain Adrian Bloemmaert. Her consort, the *Prince Maurice*, was lost on Fire Island beach in 1659; not the last ship, I warrant thee, to lay her bones on those devilish sands. A pretty craft, is she not? The patroon's yacht yonder plies between New Amsterdam, Sopus, and Fort Orange (Albany). She will take thee quite to Orange for ten florins. She hath a gun on the deck forward hung on a pivot, and her skipper may by law suffer fine and imprisonment if he keep not a strict watch on the way both against the Tankitikes and Wequaegeseeks, the Mohawks, and Mohegans."

We are about leaving the dock when a commotion arises, and looking up we see that the flag on the fort flagstaff has been hoisted to the mast-head, which means that a Holland ship is in the offing. To modern Manhattanese such an event seems a trifle, but to the ship and to the burghers of that day it was a great event. To the former it meant the end of an eight weeks' voyage, a tedious course by the Canaries and Guiana, the Caribbees and Curaçoa, Bahamas and Bermudas. To the people it meant news from home—of fathers and mothers, husbands, wives, children; it meant the news of the day—whatever had been done abroad for the last two months in war, politics, science, art, or religion; it meant to the



VIEW OF THE "SCHOEINGE" OR STREET PILING ON THE EAST RIVER SHORE NEAR
PRESENT COENTIES SLIP, 1658.



BROAD STREET IN 1642.

merchants news of ventures, fate of argosies. Even while we look scores of boats filled with men, eager for news, put off and urge their way toward the ship, while the populace throng the Battery and welcome the new-comer with cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. By and by a single gun thunders from the fort. The vessel rounds to



BROAD STREET, 1663.

off the Battery, the naval master boards her, inspects manifests and papers, and she is then allowed to proceed to her anchorage and to transfer her passengers in boats to the shore.

In our leisurely progress we next halt on the arched stone bridge spanning the canal at Broad

Street, and look up that thoroughfare. It is well built up with solid stone and brick houses having checker-work fronts and quaint crow-step gables, as seen in the engraving, and right through the centre of the street runs a canal, with houses and the travelled way on either side. The homesick burghers must have something to remind them of father-land, so they have widened and deepened the bed of a brook that originally flowed through the street, planked its sides, and formed a canal navigable for boats, skiffs, and canoes, and very useful to the farmers and Indians who are wont to land there with loads of produce and game for the markets in the vicinity.

Let us now turn into Whitehall Street and ride slowly up to our tavern, which stands near the point where that street debouches on the Bowling Green. Whitehall was then the patrician quarter of the city. Stuyvesant's town mansion stood at its foot, being known far and wide as "the White Hall," and giving the street its name. On its northern side were rows of quaint Dutch houses such as have been described, and that looked down on the Battery and beyond over the sparkling bay. Behind each house was a garden aglow with flowers, and still behind that an orchard well stocked with apple, peach, plum, pear, quince, and apricot trees; for the old chroniclers all agree that at this period the fruit and flower gardens of the New Amsterdam far outrivalled the old. Tall oaks and chestnuts, spared from the native forests, pelt us with glossy brown nuts as we pass, while squirrels, red and gray, chatter in their tops.



DUTCH MANSION AND COTTAGE IN NEW AMSTERDAM.

By and by we come to the inn. It is a tall, two-story structure of Holland brick, with checker-work cornices, and at each gable an immense chimney of Manhattan blue stone, which bears, in clumsy iron figures, the date of its erection. There are the usual crow-step gables, and in addition, three long, narrow windows in the roof, the upper surface of each flush with the ridge-pole, the whole much resembling those curious structures built by the wasp on the interiors of barns and out-buildings in summer days. Projecting over the street is a wide, brick-floored, vine-covered stoep, or porch, furnished with wooden benches, while a long wooden arm extending over the street suspends a creaking sign-board, on which, in the guise of a very fat bow-legged Dutchman, is painted Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of Old and New Amsterdam.

As soon as we draw rein, the host, worthy Martin Cregier, president of the burgomasters and captain of the burgher guard, appears at the door to welcome us, while an hostler holds our stirrups, for the inn prides itself on being able properly to entertain distinguished guests. Governors of the neighboring colonies, commissioners seeking the Dutch city to settle vexed questions of boundaries or runaway slaves, titled visitors from abroad, military and naval officers, great merchants, Virginia cavaliers, book-making travellers,—in fact, every visitor of quality seeking the city, is at once referred to the inn of Burgomaster Cregier. We will pass through the two-leaved oaken door into the wide hall. On one side is the parlor or drawing-room, with oiled

floor and cumbersome Dutch furniture ; on the other, the great public room of the inn. We look curiously about. The floor is sprinkled with fine white sand brought in the "Vlie boats" from Coney Island, and done into many quirls and curlacues by Gretchen's broom. On the walls are hung deers' antlers, serving as racks, on which rests the long goose gun of the landlord and the fire-arms of his guests. There is also a great cupboard in the corner, well filled with decanters, glasses, and black bottles of ancient Hollands and rare old Madeira, and near it a rack stuck full of long pipes, each inscribed with the name of the owner. The tap-room opens off from the apartment in the rear. This public room is a sort of meeting-place or exchange for the merchants and gentry of the town—a club-house where they meet to hear and retail the news and discuss new ventures and projects. Two stout merchants are already there seated at a little table, drinking Sopus beer and smoking contemplatively. Placards quite cover the walls, and we have noticed many on the doors and sides of the buildings and on street corners as we passed. One, as we read, gives us a vivid idea of the iron rule of the Director.

"Item. Tavern-keepers and tapsters, from now henceforward, shall not sell, barter, nor give as a present either by the first, second, or third hand, nor provide the natives with any beer, wine, brandy, or spirituous liquors, on pain of forfeiting their business, and an arbitrary correction at the discretion of the Judge.

"Item. To prevent all fightings and mischiefs, they shall be obliged to notify the officer immediately in case any one

be wounded or hurt at their house, on pain of forfeiting their business, and one pound Flemish for every hour after the wound or hurt has been inflicted, and is concealed by the tapster or tavern-keeper.

“Item. The ordinances heretofore published against unreasonable night revelling and immoderate drinking on the Sabbath, shall be observed with more strict attention and care by the tavern-keepers and tapsters, to wit : that they shall not admit nor entertain any company in the evening after the ringing of the farmer’s bell, nor sell, nor furnish beer or liquor to any person—travellers and boarders alone excepted—on the Sunday before three o’clock in the afternoon when divine service is finished, under the penalty thereto affixed by law.”

And on another placard, this bounty :

“Whereas, we are informed of the great ravages the wolf commits on the small cattle ; therefore, to animate and encourage the proprietors who will go out and shoot the same, we have resolved to authorize the assistant Schout and Schepens to give public notice that whoever shall exhibit a wolf to them which hath been shot on this island, on this side Haarlem, shall be promptly paid therefor by them, for a wolf fl. 20, and for a she-wolf fl. 30 in wampum or the value thereof.”

As the sun sinks behind the noble forest trees that line Broadway, we sit with other guests on the stoep, where pipes and spiced sangaree are brought us by neat-handed Phillis. Looking down the line of Whitehall Street, we see on every stoep beautiful women and staid, bearded men, the former laughing and chatting among themselves or with acquaintances who, strolling by, stop for an exchange of

friendly gossip; the latter stolidly smoking their pipes. We view the moving panorama before us with undisguised interest. Down on the fort the sentry paces his beat. Lovers, two by two, stroll by and out on the Battery Green. We can but be impressed by the beauty of the maidens, who, indeed, are celebrated on foreign shores. Carriages filled with ladies and gentlemen roll by, and anon the governor's coach, with the richly dressed ladies of his family within, bowing and smiling. Nor are the commonalty absent. There are laborers in long toil-stained frocks, bare-armed peasant-girls in waist and short gown, turbaned wenches market bent, herdsman guiding sheep and cattle to the weekly fair, goatherds driving in their flocks to be milked, and outlandish carts, drawn indifferently by horses, donkeys, and oxen, bringing to market the produce of the outlying farms. Anon comes a band of Indians, in single file, moving stolidly, looking neither to right nor left, and clad in array capable of moving even Motley to laughter. One wears a blanket only; another sports a doublet of bear-skin; his fellow a coat of raccoon skins; and, to complete the grotesque array, the last is clad in a long mantle made of the feathers of the wild turkey. The party bear between them two fine bucks, a brace of wild turkeys, and quarters of a bear, and we at once place them as a hunting party coming to market with the fruits of the chase. By and by, in the stone church within the fort, a bell tolls ponderously—one, two, three—up to nine,—the curfew bell, called by the people the "Farmer's bell," probably because at that time the



DUTCH COTTAGE IN NEW YORK, 1679.

city gates were closed, and none might return to their homes without. As its last notes cease, the lights fade from the stores and houses, the streets become silent, and soon New Amsterdam is lost in slumber. At the same moment Phillis comes to show us to our rooms. She leads the way to a large square room overhead, and in its smooth partition wall lets down a sort of trap-door, which discloses an opening within like a cupboard, in which are placed two great, soft, downy feather-beds. She sets down the tallow dip and departs, whereupon we disrobe and pop into the cupboard between the feather-beds. Phillis then returns, closes the door, and removes the light, leaving the guest to sleep peacefully in his box until morning. As there are several of these cupboards in the guest-chamber, the economy in room of Dutch sleeping arrangements is apparent.

We spend many succeeding days wandering about the city. The Bowling Green pleases us most. It is the "Common" laid out by the City Fathers, at an early day, in memory of the village green of father-land, the scene of public rejoicings and festivities, the parade of the military, and treaty ground of the Indians. Schoolboys are playing there on the morning we first visit it, and dozens of cute little blackamoors are trudging back and forth carrying water from the town pump next the fort. Now and then Gretchen comes with sleeves rolled above her elbows, and stout ankles visible beneath her scant skirt. One day, as we sit beneath a towering elm, we are joined by a lean and withered old man in clerical garb—long black coat, black small-

clothes, and black stock,—whom we soon discover to be Jan Gillertsen, the “koeck,” or bell-ringer. He sits down and converses with us in the grave and formal language of the day, in the course of which we learn that he had been once bell-ringer in the Great Kirk at the Hague, with its carillon of thirty bells, and that love for his daughter, the fair, blue-eyed Judith, wife to one of the city merchants, had brought him thither. By and by he invites us up into his chamber, beneath the belfry of the church in the fort. Over the door are carved these words:

This holy cell
Is dedicated to the Son of Peace.
The foot of war never profaned this floor,
Nor doth wrath here with his contentious voice
Affright these buildings. Charity with prayer,
Humility with abstinence, combined,
Are here the guardians of a saintly mind.

Within is a small octagonal chamber barely furnished with a pallet, a large round claw-footed table, a few chairs, a quaintly carved cabinet, which contains, besides the church plate, some old black-letter tomes and illuminated missals. There are besides several engravings of scriptural scenes on the wall, an hour-glass, and a fine old Nuremberg clock. The bell-rope comes through the ceiling from the belfry overhead, and the flutter of bats and owls in the chamber above easily suggests the presence of uncanny spirits. The old koeck held a grave office.

“He was,” says one, “like him set upon a watch-tower of whom the prophet speaks. The city could not well go

on without him. He rang the laborers to their tasks, and at night called them to their firesides. He summoned the magistrates to court, the schoolmaster to his classes, the condemned to his doom. He rang the merry marriage peal, the Christmas chimes, tolled for the dead and the solemn funeral, and at nine his bell gave over the city to silence and slumber. On the Sabbath he called men to worship their Maker ; and day by day, in the belfry, he watched for the devouring flame that might, God letting, destroy the city."

Another grizzly old mustache whom we sometimes find beneath the elm is the old trumpeter of Stuyvesant's men-at-arms. He has clean-cut features and a sardonic countenance, and when he stands erect it is with the inches and the air of a grenadier. He is full of martial recollections.

"Many a year is buried since I came," he begins. "It was in the year 1645. I remember it well, for in that year our Director, Kieft, held on the parade yonder his great council with the chiefs of the wild men. Verily they came in grand array—the chiefs, six of them, Oritany, who spoke for the Hackingsacks ; and Sessekennick and Willem, chiefs of the Tappaans ; and Rechgawanak, Pacham, and Penneckeck, who spoke for the Onany ; Majanwettenemin, Marechawick, and Nyack, and Aepjen, chief of the Mohegans, who stood for the Wappinecks, the Wechquaesqueecks, the Sing Sings, and the Kicktawanks. These came in brave array, as I said, in their head-dresses of turkeys' feathers, and robes of dressed deer's hide, stuck full of eagle quills, with priceless belts of wampum about their necks and ankles ; and they sat in a half circle on the green, while the Direc-

tor and his councillors, likewise clad in their bravest, sat down to fill out the other half. Then the pipe of peace went around to all, and the great treaty was signed, after seven years of war. Afterward the Director thought it seemly to ask the chiefs to a great banquet in the burgo-master's tavern, whereat the Hollands, being ripe and ready, and more potent in heathen stomachs than in our own, the chiefs forsooth were put to bed in the inn, like babies; yet had they the grace next morning to be heartily ashamed, and did hasten to put many miles of forest and river between themselves and the white man's fire-water."

This tale being exceedingly well received, the old soldier is led to tell another.

"I saw a braver sight here, however, under our present puissant Director, whom may the Lord God protect. It was on that Sunday he sailed for his happy victory over the Swedes, in 1655. After the sermon the burgher guard, seven hundred valiant men, mustered at the fort. At roll of drum they gathered before their colors, fully armed with both hand and side arms, their bandeleers well filled with powder and ball, their muskets properly loaded and provided with rests. Then they deployed upon the parade for inspection, while the whole town gazed, and the women pitied the caitiff Swedes. At last, preceded by drummers and trumpeter, the army marched up the 'Heere Straat' as far as the tavern of Wolfert Webber, who did refresh them with cakes and ale, after which they marched back, and went on board the fleet, which quickly bore them from our sight."

From the Parade we will enter and inspect the fort. It is a quadrangular earthwork, defended by



NEW YORK IN THE OLDEN TIME.

THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF EXCHANGE PLACE AND BROAD STREET IN 1680.

bastions faced with stone, on which are mounted twenty-two of the wide-mouthed guns of the day—bombards, culverins, serpentines, etc. These are of brass or bronze, and use stone as well as iron balls for missiles. The interior, or “parade,” is a plain surface one hundred and fifty feet square, in the centre of



THE BATTERY IN 1663.

which is planted a tall flag-staff with rounds for ascending, and from which floats the orange, white, and blue flag of the West India Company. On the north-west bastion is the quaint wind-mill shown in the engraving, its tower turning on a pivot, such as one may still see in Holland, and on the eastern shore of Albemarle Sound in North Carolina. There is another

windmill on the North River shore slightly differing in form. The most prominent object within the fort, however, is the church of "Manhattan stone," built by Kieft in 1642, with its two peaked roofs, between which "the tower loomed aloft," the same tower in which the koeck keeps his lonely vigils. A marble slab in the front wall of the church bears this inscription in Dutch: Ao. Do. MDCXLII. W. Kieft, Dr. Gr. Huft de Gernester dese Tempel doen Bouwen. (*Anno Domini* 1642. Wilhelm Kieft, Director General, hath the commonalty caused to build this temple.")

The jail is on one side of the church, and the government house, a plain two-story structure of brick, also built by Kieft, on the other. Low stone barracks and storehouses complete the tale of buildings within the fort. Soldiers in gray jackets and baggy breeches are lounging about, and the towns-people with visiting friends promenade the ramparts, or form little groups on the parade—for the fort is the lion of the young city—the seat of government, the church, the signal station and the scene of all military evolutions and displays; a beautiful spot, too, with its views of harbor, rivers, and wooded shores. Sunday comes; we will attend church, being curious to know more of the people and their religious customs. Half-past ten finds us in the fort near the church, just as the first stroke of the bell sounds, so that the church-goers pass in review before us. They come in two great streams, one down Broadway, another up Whitehall, and meet at the fort gate, Bowling Green being soon

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THE BATTERY IN 1746.

filled with the wagons and carts of country people, who have come from the green farms miles away, and out-span on the open spaces.

It is a pretty sight, this company of church-goers, for though the age was in many respects crude and hard, in the beauty and variety of costume it far exceeded ours. The ladies' gowns are left open in front to display the quilted petticoat, which in these days is the most important article of female dress. It is of different materials—cloth, silk, satin, camlet, and grosgrain; and of colors to suit the taste of the wearer, red, blue, black, and white predominating. They wear colored hose, and low shoes with high heels, and colored hoods of silk or taffeta, instead of bonnets. Their hair is frizzled and curled, and sprinkled with powder; they wear gold and diamond rings, on their fingers, and gold locket on their bosoms, but greater attention seems to have been paid to their Bibles and psalm-books, which are richly bound in gold and silver, and attached by gold chains to their girdles. The gentlemen are elegantly attired in the costume of father-land. Their heads are covered with soft-felt hats, with wide brims looped up with rosettes, and with powdered "full-bottom" wigs. Their long coats are adorned with silver buttons, and the capacious pockets trimmed with silver lace. In material, there is colored stuff, red, blue, and buff; black velvet, broadcloth, and silk. Their waistcoats, or doublets, are of velvet or cloth of brightest colors, and richly embroidered with silver lace. Their breeches, generally of the same material as their coats, end at the knee in black-silk

stockings. Their shoes are low, and adorned with large silver buckles.

The worshippers have nearly all passed in when a carriage drives up to the fort entrance, and Governor Stuyvesant and his party alight. There is the Governor, his wife, and his widowed sister, Mrs. Bayard. The Governor bears himself with a military air, despite the wooden leg, bound with silver bands, which replaced the one lost in honorable fight at St. Martins. His wife, a beautiful French lady, daughter of a famous Parisian divine, is worshipped by the gentlemen for her beauty, and envied by all the ladies for the Parisian elegance of her toilettes. We will follow the Governor's party into the church. It is a plain, bare edifice, with a very high pulpit, and above that a huge sounding-board. Scarcely are we seated when the tall forms of the burgomasters and schepens in their black official robes appear, preceded by the koeck and his assistants bearing the cushions for the official pew. At the same time Domine Megapolensis enters by the chancel door. At the foot of the pulpit stairs he pauses, and with hat raised before his face, offers a silent invocation, while the people bow before him. As he seats himself in the pulpit, the zeikintrooster rises, and, facing the congregation, reads the morning lesson. The service proceeds. When the good domine's sermon has exceeded the hour limit marked by the sands in the hour-glass before him, the zeikintrooster announces the fact by three raps of his cane, and the sermon is brought to an end. Then the koeck inserts the public notices

to be read in the end of his mace, and hands them up to the minister. The reading being done, the deacons rise in their pews, while the domine delivers a short homily on the duty of remembering the poor, and then pass through the congregation, each bearing a long pole, to which a black velvet bag with a little bell is suspended, to receive the alms of the charitable. Service over, the people disperse to their homes, and the poor schout-fiscal is relieved of his irksome task of patrolling the streets, wand of office in hand, closing the doors of all tap-rooms, and chastising such negro slaves as he finds indulging in games, for although these people had holiday on Sunday, they were sternly prohibited from playing or gaming "during the hours of morning service." Having nothing better to do, we will follow one of the wagon parties which has come from the Walloon settlement on the Long Island shore—the nucleus of the present great city of Brooklyn. The wagon passes out of the water-gate before described, and along the river road to the ferry, which is near the present site of Fulton Ferry. There is a little house here—an open shed roofed with thatch,—a large flat-boat worked with sweeps, and several rude skiffs for conveying single passengers. A huge fish-horn hangs upon a tree near by, and seizing this, the Walloon blows a blast as loud as that which summoned Charlemagne at Roncesvalles. The old ferry-master and his slaves, away back in the forest, are a long time coming, and the traveller, to kill time, begins reading a placard which is affixed to the shed, and which, with many other rules and regulations, con-

tains the primitive ferriage fees. We will jot them down:

	Fl. Stivers.
For each wagon or cart, with two horses or oxen	2 10
For one cart or wagon with one horse	2
For one cart or plow	1
For one pig, sheep, buck, or goat,—for two, eight stivers, and what is above that each	3
For every man, woman, Indian, or squaw,	6
For two or more persons, each one	3
For a child under ten years, half fare.	
For one horse, or four-footed horned beast,	1 10
For one hogshead of tobacco	16
For one tun of beer	16
For an anker with wine or liquor	6
For a tub of butter, soap, or such like	6
For a mud (four bushels) of grain	4
And what exceeds that is half a stiver per skeple.	
Packages of goods and other articles not specified herein, in proportion as parties shall agree.	

One of the items provided that the lessee should be bound to accommodate passengers in the summer only from five o'clock in the morning till eight o'clock in the evening, "provided the windmill hath not taken in its sail."

The ferry-boat is an hour crossing. When it comes clumsily up to the other shore we find there a ferry-house and tavern, and little else. The site of the second greatest city of the Union is still covered with forest. There are a few farms here and there in the sheltered hollows, and considerable villages at the Wallabout, Hempstead, and Flatbush, but the Heights are silent and solitary.

One day we saunter round to the city court, which holds its sessions in the Stadt Huys every Monday in the year, except that it takes a recess from December 14th until three weeks after Christmas. It is ten minutes of nine. Citizens are wending their way toward the Stadt Huys. Solomon La Chair, the notary, comes arm and arm with his confrère, Van der Veere, each with his *Marsenaer's Praxis* in hand. On the green before the City Hall, caressing his "cat," loiters "Big Pieter," the negro whipper and executioner. On the *puy*, or platform, on one side of the stoep stands a gray-haired old man, with a sort of skull-cap on his head and a bell in his hand—Stoffel Mighielsen, the town-crier. As we look he rings his bell three times, and reads a high-sounding proclamation from their High Mightinesses, the Director and Council at the fort. We will enter with the little stream of litigants and witnesses pouring in. It is a large square room, with the arms of New Amsterdam engraved on the lozenge-shaped window panes. Over the judge's bench are wreathed the orange, blue, and white colors of the West India Company, and the tricolor of father-land. On the bench are the stuffed red cushions we saw carried to the church on Sunday. The leather buckets kept by the city for putting out fires are hung on the sides of the room. Johannes Nevins, court secretary, is already at his desk turning the leaves of his book of minutes. On his right is a box containing the seal of New Amsterdam, on his left the half-hour glass which is turned precisely at nine, that all tardy members may be fined,—one half hour late, six stivers; one hour late, twelve stivers; and who-

ever is wholly late, without reasonable excuse, forty stivers. Next to the secretary sits the *Gerechts Boode*, or court messenger. Pieter Schaffbauck, the jailer, is busy assigning seats to the visitors, and looks after a prisoner he has brought in from jail. There is one other court officer, Matthew de Vos, the bailiff, who is conversing with some clients. On a rack near by are the law books, the court armory, "The Placards, Ordinances, and Octroys of the Honorable, Great, and Mighty Lords of the States of Holland and West Friesland," "Dutch Court Practice and Laws," the "Practigke ende Hande Bouck in Crimineele Zoacken," by Dr. Van Brugghe, and others, heavy leather-bound tomes. Nine o'clock is struck. The court-house bell rings. Silence is proclaimed by the court messenger, and the judges enter at a side door in solemn procession, Nicasius de Sille leading, then the Heeren Burgomasters, Martin Cregier and Oloff Stevenson Cortlandt; the schepens, Pieter Van Cowenhoven, Johannes Van Brugh, Jacob Kip, and Cornelis Steenwyck. The court is opened by Domine Megapolensis, who arises and offers a long and impressive prayer, of which we will quote the more material portion.

"We beseech Thee, O Fountain of all good gifts, qualify us by thy grace, that we may with fidelity and righteousness serve in our respective offices. To this end enlighten our darkened understandings that we may be able to distinguish the right from the wrong, the truth from the falsehood, and that we may give pure and uncorrupted decisions; having an eye upon thy word, a sure guide, giving to the simple wisdom and knowl-

edge. Let thy law be a light unto our feet, and a lamp to our path, so that we may never turn away from the path of righteousness. Deeply impress on all our minds that we are not accountable unto men, but unto God, who seeth and heareth all things. Let all respect of persons be far removed from us, that we may award justice unto the rich and the poor, unto friends and foes alike, to residents and to strangers according to the law of truth, and that not one of us may swerve therefrom. And since gifts do blind the eyes of the wise, and destroy the heart, therefore keep our hearts aright. Grant unto us also, that we may not rashly prejudice any one without a fair hearing, but that we patiently hear the parties, and give them time and opportunity for defending themselves ; in all things looking up to thee for thy word and direction."

Without further formality, the court proceeds to business. A large legal-appearing document, superscribed "Worshipful, Right Beloved Schout, Burgo-masters, and Schepens of the City Amsterdam in New Netherland," is handed in by the court messenger, and opened by the schout, who reads :

"**WORSHIPFUL, RIGHT BELOVED :**

"Considering, on the one hand, God's manifold mercies and benefits which in his bounty he hath from time to time not only exhibited, but also continued to this budding province ; and on the other hand, the resolution and order of the supreme authority of this province, adopted and executed for the further benefit and security of this province : We, the Director General and Council of this province, have, above all things, deemed it necessary to order and prescribe a general day of

fasting, prayer, and thanksgiving, which order we hereby send to your Worship, according to the form of our father-land, to the end that it shall be proclaimed and observed in your Worship's city, whereunto confiding we are, and remain,

“Your Worship's good friends,

“The Director General and

“Council of New Netherland,

“P. STUYVESANT.”

The letter is ordered to be proclaimed from the puy after previous ringing of the bell. Several cases of assault, petty thieving, slander, and tapping on the Lord's Day are then disposed of, the schout-fiscal appearing as prosecuting attorney and examining both prisoner and witnesses. At last the court comes to the case of Hend. Jansen Clarbout, on trial for a capital offence.

The secretary reads the Herr Schout's demand against the prisoner, that the burgomasters and schepens vote each for himself for the conclusion of his sentence. The magistrates therefore write their judgment upon pieces of paper, which are collected by the secretary, who opens and reads them as follows:

“The Herr Burgomaster, Martin Cregier—‘That he shall be whipped and branded, and banished for all his life out of the province of New Netherland.’

“The Herr Burgomaster, Oloff Stevenson Cortlandt—‘Though he be worthy of death, yet from special grace he adjudges that he be whipped and branded and banished.’



Engr. by H. R. Ross

For F. T. Valentines Manual.

PETER STUYVESANT,
Rebuking the Cobbler.



“The Herr Schepen, Pieter Van Cowenhoven—‘He shall be put to death.’

“The Herr Schepen Johannes Van Brugh ‘decides that he shall be whipped and branded, and banished the country.’

“The Herr Schepen Hend. J. Vander Vin—‘That the offender is worthy of death, and ought, according to the Herr Schout de Sille’s demand, be punished until death follow, with the costs and *mises* of justice.’

“The Herr Schepen Jacob Kip—‘The reasons being sufficiently discussed in complete court, and papers and confession being examined, he can, in conscience and conviction, not vote otherwise than that he, Hendrick Jansen Clarbout, ought according to law be executed by death.’

“The Herr Schepen Cornelis Steenwyck—‘Decides that he be whipped and branded under the gallows, the halter being around his neck, and banished forever, and sent hence with his wife and children on pain of the gallows, thanking the magistrates on his bended knees for their merciful and well-deserved justice.’”

After the reading of these, a second vote is taken, and it is decreed—

“That the offender, Hendrick Jansen Clarbout, shall be brought to the place where justice is usually executed, and with the rope around his neck be whipped and branded, and banished the country, and condemned in the costs and *mises* of justice.”

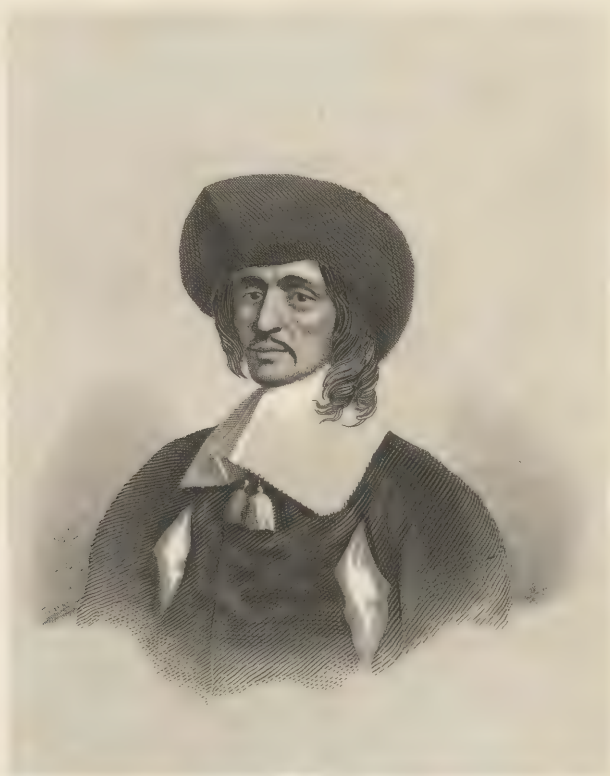
“I now ask,” said the schout, “that the Herr President Burgomaster, Martin Cregier, and the Herr Schepen, Cornelis Steenwyck, be appointed to wait on the Worshipful Director-General and Council to ask permission

to erect a gallows before the City Hall, and for power to banish from the District of New Netherlands."

The two messengers file slowly out and return in due time, bearing a written "apostille," which authorizes and qualifies the magistrates, *for this time*, not only to banish the apprehended Hendrick Jansen Clarbout beyond the city's jurisdiction, but also beyond the province of New Netherland; "and they are likewise permitted to allow a *half gallows* to be erected before the City Hall, should that be necessary for carrying the judgment into effect."

With the concluding words the twelve great strokes of noon sound from the fort, and court is declared dismissed—dinner, with the burgomasters of New Amsterdam being a sacred office not lightly broken in upon by business or pleasure.

After a time it becomes necessary for us to do a little shopping, and we are directed to the store of the Heer Schepen Cornelis Steenwyck, the Macy's of New Amsterdam. The merchant we find a pleasant, agreeable man of the world, with a horizon much wider than most of his class. His career has been full of vicissitude. When quite a young man he had come to the city as mate of a trading vessel, and being smitten with the charms of a merchant's daughter, had cast in his fortunes with the young city. "The handsome sailor," the ladies called him for years after his arrival. Perhaps for that reason they did most of their shopping at his store. It was not long before the Herr Steenwyck was known as the best dressed, most polite, and most popular man in New Amster-



Paul "Steenwyck

dam. Then he was made schepen, and, after the English came, mayor. He imported the newest goods from father-land and became rich. In his store, which filled the whole second floor of his dwelling, besides every thing in the hardware and grocery line, the fair shoppers might find the latest patterns in blue and red pennistoën, haft tyke, sarge, flannel, fryse, carsay, drugget, mopeling, camersche, canting, calko, garelet, hollands, ozenbergs, fouster, neppins cloth, licking, damask, esternyns, galoen, silk crape, callemink, silk-striped stuff, colored silks, bruston-stuff, runell, bangale, colored fustian, buckram, plush, gloves, stockings, tops, blankets, and ribbons.

We shall find the houses of the better class comfortable and some even elegant. A wide, cool hall extending through the centre of the house, with doors in front and rear, was a feature of all. These were hung with ancestral portraits, and furnished with a settee, and sometimes with a great Dutch clock with the family arms set in its case. The front room, or parlor, was usually furnished with a marble-topped table covered with a few devotional works and family heir-looms, with Russian-leather arm-chairs, a great square figured rug serving as a carpet, curtains of tabby cloth falling to the floor, a foot bench and cushion. The great chamber, or family room, in the rear was much more richly furnished. In one, we read, there were twelve Russian-leather chairs, two velvet chairs with fine silver lace, a cupboard of French nut-wood, a round table, a square table, a cabinet, a large looking-glass, a bedstead with its

two feather-beds and canopy, ten pieces of china-ware, five alabaster images, a piece of tapestry work, a flowered tabby chimney cloth, a pair of flowered tabby curtains, and a dressing-box.

The cabinet was filled with family jewels and with massive silver plate—the latter brought from fatherland and often an heir-loom that had been treasured in the family for generations. Their plate was the pride and glory of the early Dutch families. There were pieces of superb workmanship then in the city, as is seen in the De Peyster family plate illustrated on another page. The “guest chamber,” with its canopied bed, and nut-wood dressing-table, its Turkey-leather chairs, and flowered cloth curtains, was also a feature of Dutch domestic arrangements.

The chief social amusements are dancing parties (at which only the decorous square dances are known, and which break up at eleven, after a frugal repast of bread and chocolate is served), and what the young people call “out parties,” which are very much like the modern picnic. All along the shores of Manhattan are romantic coves, groves, and glens to which the young people of both sexes are fond of resorting. “The Locust Trees,” a beautiful grove of locusts on a knoll near the North River, a little south of Trinity Church; the umbrageous pathway known as the Maagde Paatje, with its attendant hill-side; a little rock glen and clear-water brook on the present line of Gold Street; and the beautiful sylvan lake called the *kolch* or fresh-water pond, near the present corner of Canal and Broadway, are all favorites with the sylvan excursionists.



110. 4 Carver, Knapp & Knapp 449 Broadway, N.Y.

For D.T. Valentine, March 1901

MASSIVE SILVER PLATE OF JOHANNIS DE PEYSTER
brought from Holland.



for D.T. Valentines Manual 1861

Portrait of the Great Grand Father of
JOHANNIS DE PEYSTER
the first of this family in New York.



For L.T. Valentine's Manual 1861

Portrait of the Great-Grand Mother of
JOHANNIS DE PEYSTER
the first of this family in New York



DE PEYSTER PUNCH-BOWL.

We regret that we cannot remain to share in the winter sports, of which our young friends give us sprightly accounts. They have been thus described :

“ First, as the weather turns cold, is the skating on the kolch and neighbor ponds. Then comes the snow, and the young men arrange for a sleighing frolic by moonlight. Four horses they get and Jan Dericksen’s long sleigh that holdeth ten couples, packed close, as it suiteth young men and maidens to ride, and away they go over the Kissing Bridge, and under the bended pine boughs, often, methinks, as far as to Harlem, where at Mynheer Borsum’s tavern they have a dance and a supper, which by our custom may consist of naught but bread and a pot of chocolate.

“ Again, though the Dutch be a sober folk, yet do they keep many festivals—Kerstrydt (Christmas), Nieuw Jar (New Year), Paas (Easter), Pinxter (Whitsuntide), and San Claas (St. Nicholas Day). Christmas comes first, and we also observe it as the anniversary of landing day. After the stockings are explored for whatever Santa Claus may have left there, the young people spend the morning skating on the kolch, or turkey-shooting in the forest ; at one the great ovens yieldeth up the Christmas feast, which all meet to enjoy. New Year is the greatest day in New Amsterdam. On that day no one does aught but call and receive calls. For days before, the housewives have been brewing, baking, and mixing, and when the day cometh and thou goest to greet thy friend, thou findest the great logs crackling in the twelve-foot fireplace, and in the centre of the table, spread in the middle of the room, a mighty punch-bowl well reinforced by haunches of cold venison and turkeys roasted whole, and ornamented with cakes, comfits, confectionery, silver



tankards, and bekers filled with rare Madeira and foaming ale. The good vrouw and her daughters, clad in their best, are there to receive one, and to dispense whole-hearted hospitality, smiles, and good wishes.

"Paas, which we observe on Easter Monday, may be traced back to the early Saxon, from whom the Dutch are sprung. Paas means 'egg cracking,' and a favorite game on that day is called 'playing for eggs.' Thy sweetheart holds an egg in her hand and challenges thee to break it by striking it with thy egg, the broken one belonging to that which remaineth whole. On that day, too, the shops are gay with boiled eggs, tied with red and blue ribbons, or colored by mixing potent pigments in the water which hath boiled them. On Paas Day no true son of St. Nicholas tasteth other food than eggs."



PART II.
ENGLISH RULE.



JAMES II.

After painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.



VI.

THE NEW FLAG.

RETURNING to take up the thread of our history, we find New Amsterdam under new rulers, with a new name. Henceforth, save for a brief period, she would be called New York, in honor of her new owner, James, Duke of York.

The fort also was given a new name, James ; a new flag waved over it, the Union Jack, a standard symbolical of the nation which had come to rule. The red cross on its white ground was derived from a union of the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, originally emblems of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, now united in one great nation—a nation of sailors, navigators, pioneers, with such genius for colonization that the sun never sets on its dominions ; a nation which, with those that have sprung from it, is now the dominant power on the globe. It must be admitted that the change was in many respects a beneficial one. Instead of a mere trading-post, the slave of a commercial monopoly, surrounded by enemy colonies, each superior to it in numbers and enterprise, New York became one of several prov-

inces, under the same general government, speaking the same language, having to a certain extent the same interests. We shall find that her rate of increase was much more rapid in the one hundred and eleven years of English rule, than during the half century of Dutch domination. Her progress was, however, not so rapid as it should have been, considering the advantages she possessed, for it was the policy of her English rulers to shorten, as far as they dared, that strong arm of her power—her commerce. In treating of this period we shall notice only the more important events, and shall strive to give due prominence to its leading principle—the struggle of the people for their rights, and especially for the right to govern themselves.

Twenty royal governors, ruled New York while it remained a colony, under eight kings and queens—Charles II., James II. of the Stuart line, William and Mary of the House of Orange, Queen Anne of the Stuart line again, and lastly, the three Georges of the Brunswick line.

The names of these governors, and their terms of office, were: Richard Nicolls, 1664–1668; Francis Lovelace, 1668–1673; Sir Edmond Andros, 1674–1682; Thomas Dougan, 1683–1689; Henry Slough-ter, 1691, died July 23, 1691; Benjamin Fletcher, 1692–1698; Earl of Bellomont, 1698, died March 5, 1701; Lord Cornbury, 1702–1708; Lord Lovelace, 1708, died May 6, 1709; Robert Hunter, 1710–1719; William Burnet, 1720–1728; Lord John Montgomery, 1728, died July 1, 1731; William Cosby, 1732, died March 10, 1736; George Clinton, 1743–



*Edward Hyde Lord Cornbury.
afterw. 3rd Earl of Clarendon.*

1753; Sir Danvers Osborne, 1753, died October 12, 1753; Sir Charles Hardy, 1755-1757; Robert Monckton, 1761-1765; Sir Henry Moore, 1765-1770; Earl of Dunmore, 1770; Sir William Tryon, 1771, deposed in the Revolution.

The interregnum between several of these dates was filled by lieutenant-governors or provisional governors. The average of these rulers in statesmanship and patriotism was not high. Some were politicians merely. Some were old soldiers or sailors, who had to be provided for; and others, younger sons of titled families for whom places were desired. A few were men of sagacity and experience in public affairs, who were appointed for their fitness, or supposed fitness, for the position. Colonel Nicolls the first, was one of the most successful; his position was one of great difficulty and delicacy. The Dutch citizens were to be placated, new and peculiar conditions were to be established, and special laws required to be made. In his treatment of these vexed questions the Governor showed much tact and discretion.

The Dutch were left in possession of their homes, business, religion, and for nearly a year, of their city government. At length the latter was changed to the English form—burgomasters, schepens, and schout giving place to mayor, aldermen, and sheriff. A code of laws was framed, called *The Duke's Laws*, which were certainly much more liberal in matters of faith and conscience than those of the iron Director, Stuyvesant. Trial by jury was established, a justice court for each town also, with right of ap-

peal to the Court of Sessions. Treason, murder, denying the true God, kidnapping, striking parents, and some other crimes were punishable by death. Slavery was allowed, but no Christians were to be made slaves except criminals sentenced by the lawful authority. No persons could trade with the Indians without a license. No Indian was allowed to "pow-wow," or perform incantations to the Devil. Churches were to be built and supported in each parish, but no sect was to be favored above another, and no Christian was to be fined, imprisoned, or molested for his religious opinions.

These were the main provisions of the new laws. There were many others relating to the settlement of estates, anniversary sermons, surgeons, orphans, servants, weights and measures, births, burials, drift whales, wrecks, sailors, laborers, some of which seem very needless and curious in our eyes.

The patents of the great patroonships were confirmed under the titles of "manors." The Dutch still held their title to the old stone church in the fort, and continued to worship there, allowing the English congregation to hold its service in the afternoon. The English service was held on the first Sabbath after the surrender, and this was the first time that that grand liturgy of the Anglican Church, which M. Taine pronounces the "national poem" of England, had been officially heard in New York, though travelling missionaries of the church had undoubtedly read it in the city previous to this time.

Before affairs were fairly settled at home, Governor Nicolls was menaced from abroad. War had broken

out between England and Holland because of Nicolls' act,—a war in which France soon joined in favor of Holland, and an attack on New York might be made at any time by the great Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, whose fleet was known to be in the West Indies. De Ruyter, however, sailed for the home seas, where he arrived in time to gain fresh laurels in the war, at one time attacking and burning the English fleet in the mouth of the Thames itself. New York escaped for the time; and in 1667 the peace of Breda left the Duke in peaceable possession of his new territory.

In the interim (in 1666) had occurred the terrible plague and great fire of London. One hundred thousand people died by the former in five months; five sixths of the houses in London were swept away by the latter, leaving the people homeless and beggared. These national disasters, by paralyzing trade and emigration, had great influence on the fortunes of New York.

The French, too, who were by this time firmly established in Canada, and laid claim to all the territory west of New York as far south as the Ohio River, required to be closely watched. These continued anxieties, and the financial straits to which his generosity soon brought him, so wore upon the genial Governor that he wrote in 1668 asking to be recalled. The Duke consented, and appointed Colonel Francis Lovelace governor in his place. Every one had a good word for the retiring Governor. Commissioner Maverick wrote to Lord Arlington: "He has kept persons of different judg-

ments and of diverse nations in peace and quietness during a time when a great part of the world was in wars ; and as to the Indians, they were never brought into such peaceable posture and faire correspondence as they now are." As the time for the Governor's departure came a grand dinner was given him at the house of Cornelis Steenwyck ; and when on the 28th of August, 1668, he took final leave, a grand procession of military and citizens escorted him to the vessel which was to convey him home.

Colonel Lovelace, his successor, was an amiable, worthy gentleman, a favorite courtier of King Charles II., and one of his Knights of the Order of the Royal Oak. His administration is noteworthy only for the fierce civil and military commotions which disturbed Europe, and rolled across the Atlantic with such force as to depose Lovelace from his government, and for the moment even to overthrow British power in New York.

Charles II. had long been restive under the restrictions which his Parliament imposed on his exercise of absolute power. Catholic France, under her able but unscrupulous monarch, Louis XIV., was now the leading power of Europe and the mortal foe of the Netherlands, which was Protestant in religion and republican in government. Charles, ignoring the fact that in 1669 he had formed a league with Holland and Sweden—known in history as "The Triple Alliance,"—now proposed to Louis to form an alliance with him against the Dutch, and to maintain Louis' claim to the throne of Spain, on condition that he (Louis) should aid him in establishing an ab-

solute monarchy in England. War was therefore declared by the two nations against the Netherlands. The English engaged the Dutch fleets on the ocean, while Louis marched an army of 200,000 men into the Netherlands. He was, however, defeated and driven back by the Dutch, who cut the dykes and flooded the country with the sea, somewhat as later the Russians repulsed Napoleon by burning the cities their fathers had reared. Meantime the Dutch privateers had nearly swept English commerce from the ocean; while in the spring of 1673 a Dutch squadron, commanded by two brave admirals, Evertsen and Binckes, had been despatched to recover their lost territory in America, and inflict as much damage on English shipping in those seas as possible. The squadron anchored in the lower bay on the 29th of June with about twenty English prizes in tow.

Governor Lovelace was in Hartford in consultation with Governor Winthrop. Captain Manning, in command of Fort James, at once charged his guns, sent a drum through the streets to beat the alarm, and despatched a messenger post-haste to Hartford for Lovelace. The Dutch commanders, however, knew well the value of time, and moved their fleet to within musket-shot of the fort, while they sent to Manning a laconic summons to surrender. "We have come for our own," they added grimly, "and our own we will have." Manning sought to parley and secure terms, but Evertsen replied that he had already promised protection to citizens and property, and added that unless the Dutch flag was hoisted in half an hour he should fire on the fort, "and the

glass is already turned up," he added significantly. Manning stood to his guns, and when the half hour had expired the fleet fired a broadside into the fort, killing several men and wounding more. At the same time, the Dutch commander threw six hundred men ashore at a point just back of the present Trinity Church, and assailed his enemy in the rear. Manning, finding the odds too great, surrendered on conditions. He was allowed to march out through the gates at the head of his garrison with drums beating and colors flying. In the fort, the red-cross flag was pulled down, while the blue, white, and orange again floated triumphantly. The fort took a new name, William Hendrick, the province was called New Orange, after the young Prince of Orange, now the hope and pride of the Dutch State. The Dutch occupation was of short duration, however, and had little effect on the fortunes of the city. On the 9th of February, 1674, a treaty between Holland and England was signed at Westminster, by the terms of which Holland relinquished forever all claims to her former colony of New Netherlands. Governor Lovelace, however, was not restored to office, Sir Edmund Andros being appointed in his place. Lovelace returned to England, where he learned that his predecessor, the gallant and generous Nicolls, had been killed in one of the first battles of the war.

Andros, the new Governor, was a courtier by birth as well as by training. His father had been Master of Ceremonies to Charles II., and he himself had been trained in the king's household. He was also a good soldier, and a man of title and estate, having



Sir Edmund Andros, Knt.

recently become, by the death of his father, bailiff of Guernsey and hereditary seigneur of the fief of Sausmarez. He was a scholar, and a patron of art, something of a statesman, but harsh and imperious in temperament. His lovely and accomplished wife, Lady Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven, accompanied him.

The frigates *Castle* and *Diamond*, with the distinguished party on board, arrived on the 22d of October, 1674. Anthony Colve, the Dutch Governor, received them with stately ceremony, and after the proper amount of speech-making and letter-writing had been done, delivered over the government. Before embarking for Holland, Colve performed an act of courtesy greatly to his credit: he sent Sir Edmond as a present the elegant coach and three broad-backed Flemish horses which he had used in his official journeys.

Few events of sufficient importance to be included in our story occurred during the reign of Governor Andros. He had many vexatious disputes with New Jersey and Connecticut over the question of boundaries, and some trouble with the people he governed, who wished their laws made by an assembly of men chosen by the people, as was the case with their sister colonies.

With the capture of the city by Nicolls, the English-speaking people in New York, together with the more progressive Dutch citizens, had expected a more liberal form of government than they had enjoyed under the West India Company, but, instead, they found the one-man power still para-

mount ; they had exchanged the rule of a company of merchants for the rule of a duke. True, they had been given concessions, but still they were allowed no voice in the management of their affairs. At length, in the summer of 1681, under their leader, John Younge, high sheriff of Long Island, they drew up a monster petition to the Duke, reciting their grievances, which were : the exaction of a revenue without their consent, and the enthralling of their liberties and burdening of their trade by an arbitrary power exercised over them ; and praying that the Duke would henceforth govern his province through a governor, council, and assembly, as was done by the king in his plantations. James gave careful attention to this petition. Dyer, his Collector of Customs in New York, had written him that the merchants had refused to pay the duties levied under his laws, alleging that they were illegal and unconstitutional ; in fact, that he, Dyer, had already been indicted by the colonial court "for traitorously exercising regal power and authority over the king's subjects." Fortunately for New York, James had two excellent advisers—his brother, King Charles, and the illustrious William Penn, who had recently drafted, with the aid of the republican statesman Algernon Sidney, a wise and liberal form of government for his new province of Pennsylvania. King Charles said it was evident that, in order to collect a revenue, an assembly must be granted. Penn exhibited his system of laws as a model, and, resting his hand lovingly on the Duke's shoulder, advised him to give the province the franchise. The Duke,



John Lewis

after debating for some time the question of selling his American estate—for which large offers had been made,—decided to retain it and give it the franchise; but as Andros had become obnoxious to the people, he decided to recall him, and appoint in his place Thomas Dougan, a gentleman who had distinguished himself in many battles, and who had served creditably as Lieutenant-Governor of Tangiers, in Africa.

Dougan arrived at Nantasket, near Boston, in August, 1683, and came on to New York by way of Connecticut and Long Island, everywhere received with respect and affection by the people, who were pleased by the affability of his manners, and by the news he bore, that the Duke had granted their petition. One of Dougan's first acts was to issue writs for an election of representatives to the long-desired Provincial Assembly. By these writs we find that New York then extended eastward on the mainland as far as the west bank of the Connecticut River, and included Long Island, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket; at least the Duke claimed this under his patent, although Connecticut disputed his claim to the territory between the Connecticut River and the Hudson.

New York, Albany, Rensselaerswyck, Esopus, Long Island, Staten Island, Pemaquid, and Martha's Vineyard sent deputies in answer to the writs, the whole number amounting to eighteen; most of these were Dutch. This first Assembly of New York convened on October 17, 1683, with Matthias Nicolls as Speaker, and sat for three weeks. The first act passed by it was a "Charter of Liberties and Privi-

leges," granted by the Duke. This charter recognized the principles of self-government and self-taxation which the people had long contended for, and secured freedom of conscience and religion to all. It also provided for the levying of duties on goods imported. Another act of Assembly divided the province into twelve counties. A third established courts of justice, of which there were four distinct classes: town courts; county courts, or courts of sessions; a general court of oyer and terminer; and a court of chancery, or supreme court,—the latter composed of the governor and council. From the judgment of this court, however, any aggrieved citizen might appeal to the king.

This charter was quite an advance on that of 1664, and is interesting as a landmark in the long-continued struggle of the people for their rights. We must not forget to mention, too, among the laws of this Assembly, a naturalization act, by which all persons, except slaves, residing in the colony, of whatever race or tongue, were accounted citizens, provided they professed Christianity and took the oath of allegiance to the king. In the same manner, others seeking the city in time to come might also be made citizens. This act was intended largely to benefit the Huguenots, whom the merciless persecution of King Louis XIV. of France was driving from that country by tens of thousands. But before the Charter of Liberties and Privileges could be ratified by James, and forwarded to New York, an event occurred in England which prevented it from ever being transferred. This event was the death—February 3,

1684—of Charles II., and the elevation of James to the throne. James Rex, the colonists soon found, was quite a different person from James the Duke. Religious bigotry was his bane. He was also narrow and illiberal, and sadly lacking in tact and judgment. The first time the affairs of New York came before him as king, he discovered that the Charter of Liberties and Privileges, which had never been sent to the colony, was too liberal, and he declined to confirm it, but allowed it to continue in force until he should otherwise direct, so that the colonists still continued to enjoy its privileges. He also at this meeting broached the project of uniting New York and New England under one government. A letter was also written and despatched to New York, having the royal signature, providing that all men then in office should be continued in power until further orders. The cry, "The king is dead—Long live the king," caused little commotion in New York. As nothing was said in the letter about an Assembly, one was called by Governor Dougan in October, 1684, the appointed time. It was the last held, however, during the reign of James II. That reign was brief and inglorious. James was a Catholic, and attempted to re-establish the Catholic religion in his realm. But his Protestant subjects rose in revolt, and called the Dutch prince, William of Orange, who was a Protestant, and who had married Mary, the daughter of James, to lead them and be their king. William consented and, as we know, landed at Torbay, November 5, 1688, and was greeted with so popular an uprising that James hastened to abdicate

in favor of his son and daughter. Some things he had done before this, which have special interest for us, since they refer to New York. The most interesting of these was the grant in 1686 of a charter to the *city*. This should not be confounded with the Charter of Liberties and Privileges, which was granted the *province*. It was a broad and liberal instrument, and the wonder is that James, who was at this moment plotting to deprive the American colonies of their charters, should ever have granted it. The influence of Governor Dougan at court, and the high character of such citizens as Mayor Nicholas Bayard, Recorder James Graham, and others, was no doubt largely responsible for it. It was the great charter, the foundation on which the subsequent charters of 1708 and 1730 were laid. It confirmed all previous "rights and privileges" granted the city, and gave it in addition, by name, the City Hall, the great dock and bridge, the ferry, the two market-houses, and the waste, vacant, unpatented lands on the island above low-water mark, with the coves, rivulets, creeks, ponds, etc., not before granted. Some of these granted rights yield the city a large revenue to-day, while others have been appropriated to the use of the people.

Soon after a new city seal was presented. The beaver of the old Dutch seal was retained, and a flour barrel and the arms of a windmill were added, the whole being significant of the trade in beaver and other furs, and the bolting of flour, the two leading industries of the city at this time. By the spring of 1688, James' great plot against the char-



THE POOR-HOUSE ERECTED IN 1735, ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT
CITY HALL.

tered rights of the American colonies was fully matured, and he issued a decree uniting all the colonies north of the fortieth degree of latitude into one great province, to be called New England. Pennsylvania alone was excepted. New Jersey, New York, and New England were merged into one; and the charters they had so long and jealously guarded were swept away in an instant. New York was especially unfortunate; she lost not only her Provincial Assembly and her Charter of Rights and Privileges, but her name and identity even.

Sir Edmond Andros, who has been introduced to us as Governor of New York, was made Governor of the United Province, with head-quarters at Boston. Andros came to New York in August, 1688, to receive the submission of the people. The occasion is described as being a brilliant event. A large and imposing retinue accompanied him. The City Guard—a regiment of foot and a troop of horse in showy, shining regimentals—received him and conducted him to Fort James, where his commission was read to the assembled people; later it was read in the City Hall; the seal of New York was brought into his presence, broken and defaced by order of the king, and the Great Seal of New England adopted in its place. Andros' rule, however, was of short duration. In the spring of 1689 news reached Boston of the abdication of James and the accession of William and Mary, and the people very quickly disposed of the hated Governor by seizing him and sending him to prison.

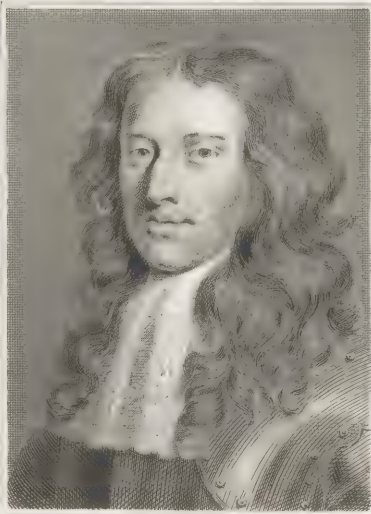


VII.

REBELLION.

AN exciting and instructive chapter in the city's history follows this act of New England in deposing her Governor. New York, too, was deprived of a ruler, and indeed of any government that all parties would recognize. A chaotic condition of affairs followed and continued for two years. Two factions at once arose: composed as to race, of the English against the Dutch; as to class, of the aristocrats against the common people; as to religion, of the Church of England against the Dutch Reformed Church.

The strife was as to who should rule the city. The English party held that the officers appointed by James should continue in power until their successors should appear armed with authority from William and Mary; in other words, that the former government should stand. The Dutch party held that with the flight of James his authority ceased as much in the colonies as in England, and that therefore the people should appoint officers to enforce the laws and maintain the peace until the pleasure of William should be known. There was a precedent for this view in the case of the New England colo-



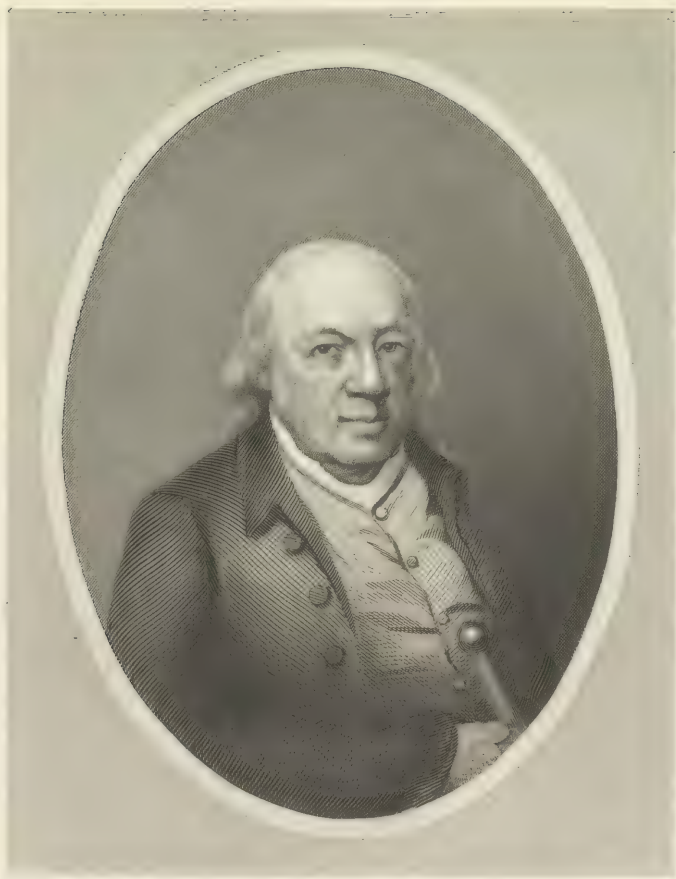
William 3rd King of England



Engraved by W. Baskett from an Original Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller

MARY II.

Printed for C. Cooke by P. Thompson & Co. New York



nies, which had set up their former governments on the overthrow of James. Both parties made out plausible cases, but neither would be convinced by the arguments of the other.

The leaders of the English party were Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson and the three members of the deposed Governor's council, Frederick Phillipse, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and Nicholas Bayard. The councillors were men of the highest repute in the city. Frederick Phillipse was known as the richest man in New York. He was a native of Friesland, of high birth, who had come to the city in youth poor and friendless, and had attained his present position largely through his address and ability as a merchant. He had an immense estate between the Spuyten Duyvil and the Croton River, which had been erected into a manor in 1693, under the title of Phillipseborough. The old manor-house you may still see in the heart of the city of Yonkers, transformed into the City Hall. Van Cortlandt was Mayor, and had been Judge of the Admiralty; a man of wealth and education. Bayard was a nephew of Governor Stuyvesant. He had been Surveyor and Secretary of the Province, Alderman, and Mayor of the city, and was now Colonel of the regiment of City Militia. All were learned, courtly, patriotic men, whose counsels in ordinary times would have been treated with the greatest respect and deference. The leaders of the democratic party were Jacob Leisler and his friend Jacob Milborne. Leisler was a German, born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and had been a resident of New York about thirty years. He was a prosperous

merchant, a deacon in the Dutch Reformed Church, but had never held public office, nor was he well versed in public affairs. He was at this time captain of one of the six train bands which comprised Colonel Bayard's regiment of militia. He was a man of great energy and force, and of much native quickness and sagacity, but entirely uneducated, coarse and violent in speech and manner, self-willed, arrogant, passionate, and of unbalanced judgment; a fanatic on the subject of popery, a stern hater of the English, their church, and institutions. Milborne was Leisler's son-in-law; a man of better education, but of far less principle.

The struggle for power began April 29, 1689, by Leisler's refusing to pay the duties on a cargo of wine he had imported, on the plea that the Collector, Ploughman, was a Catholic, and therefore not qualified to perform his duties under the Protestant sovereigns. There was a heated discussion over it in the City Hall, between the councillors and the merchant, which was ended by Leisler's falling into a passion and declaring he would never pay a penny to Ploughman. From this moment strange stories and whisperings were put into circulation, and were caught up and eagerly retailed by the ignorant peasantry, who being without schools, books, or newspapers, and most of them unable to read, were quite at the mercy of the demagogues. Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, it was whispered, was plotting to betray the city into the hands of the French. The woods on Staten Island were said to be filled with Papist emissaries, whom Nicholson was in the habit of meet-

ing to concert plots against the city. Another rumor was, that King James, who had fled to France, was on the seas with a powerful French fleet, intending to reduce the city. Others told how the leading Dutch citizens were fast being won over to popery. Again, ex-Governor Dougan, who was still a resident of the city, was said to have concocted a plot to murder the Protestants and deliver the town to the Catholics. Some even came to Colonel Bayard and asked him to dismiss the Catholics on the militia force lest they should turn their arms on the citizens. "Dismiss the Catholics!" said the colonel; "why, there are not above twenty on the force, and they are old cripples"; and he had to send for Captain Leisler to reassure them.

We must take into consideration this condition of the public mind in order to understand how the usurpation we are about to describe could have been effected. A very little thing at last precipitated revolution. Governor Nicholson lived in considerable state at his house in the fort, which at this moment was defended only by a sergeant's guard of regular troops, most of the garrison being employed on detached duty in Maine. To reinforce the sergeant's squad, a company of the city militia was detailed each night to mount guard at the fort. One night Nicholson coming home late found a militiaman stationed as sentinel in a sally-port and sharply reprimanded the sergeant in command, as only the regulars were detailed for sentinels. The man said it was by order of Lieutenant Cuyler, of the militia company. Nicholson ordered the offending officer before

him, and put the question "Who commands this fort, you or I?" Cuyler laid the responsibility on his superior officer, Captain De Peyster. Nicholson, who seems to have felt that he was being watched by the militia captains, in a gust of passion drove them from the room, saying that he would rather see the town on fire than be commanded by them.

The soldiers and gossips tortured this expression into a threat to burn the town: and they said the Governor had laid a plot to murder all the Dutch inhabitants the next Sunday as they went to church in the fort. Towards noon of that day, May 31st, a single drum-beat was heard. At once, as if by concerted signal, laborers dropped their implements, mechanics their tools, and rushed into the streets. The city stood affrighted. Shopkeepers put up their shutters: householders barred doors and windows. Captain Leisler's company was observed to muster before his house in the strand. Gathered there, they were harangued by Sergeant Joost Stoll, who at last exclaimed, "We are sold, we are betrayed, we are going to be murdered," and led his company to the fort, attended by the mob. Probably there was not one of the commonalty from Leisler down, who did not honestly believe that his life and property were in jeopardy. Lieutenant Cuyler was at the fort and admitted the soldiers, and in a few moments Leisler appeared and took command. Soon after Colonel Bayard, by command of the council, went to the fort and ordered the soldiers to disperse, but Stoll coolly told him that they disowned all authority of the government. A little inquiry convinced Bayard

that the entire City Guard was in open rebellion. When this fact was reported to Governor Nicholson, he called a meeting of the council at the City Hall: but while they were deliberating there came a sound of marching men, and Captain Loedwyck at the head of his company appeared in the chamber and demanded the keys of the fort. To prevent bloodshed, and being without soldiers to defend his authority, Nicholson yielded them up under protest. And so the popular party, or Leislerites, came into possession of the city. For a time Leisler governed with some show of moderation. He wrote an address to William and Mary in behalf of the "militia and inhabitants of New York," in which he described at length, the revolution and the causes which had led to it, and promised most loyal submission for himself and those acting with him. In June, however, Governor Nicholson sailed for England, intending to lay his case before the king, leaving affairs in charge of three councillors, and from this time on Leisler grew more and more arrogant and dictatorial. He compared himself to Cromwell, and spoke often of his patriotism and address in saving the city from pillage and massacre. He declared that the sword must now rule in New York, and behaved with great insolence, and after a time with great cruelty, toward those opposed to him; in fact, he behaved quite like a man whose head was turned by rank egotism, and the possession of unlimited power.

Soon news came that William and Mary had been proclaimed in Barbadoes, and, soon after, in Boston. They were proclaimed in Hartford on the 13th of

June, and two envoys, Major Gold and Captain Fitch, were despatched to New York with the orders for proclaiming them there. They also bore a royal proclamation confirming all Potestant officers in the colonies in their places. Leisler managed to secure both proclamations in advance of Mayor Van Cortlandt—although the latter rode far out into Westchester to intercept the envoys; and, on the 22d, read the former in the fort. Afterward it was given to Mayor Van Cortlandt to be read in the City Hall, and was so read, after many angry words had passed between Leisler and Van Cortlandt over the former's unwarranted act. Two days later Van Cortlandt obtained a copy of the proclamation confirming all Protestant officers in their places. We can imagine his elation; it ratified all he and his party had done; it constituted himself and his colleagues, Phillips and Bayard, the only legal government for the province, since they had received their commission from the crown. Leisler and his party, on the other hand, were filled with rage and dismay. Perhaps they feared for their lives if such bitter enemies as the councillors came into authority; perhaps they were simply intoxicated with the lust of power: at any rate they determined to resist. Of course such an act would be high treason and punishable with death; but they do not seem to have thought of that. Mayor Van Cortlandt had the proclamation read to the aldermen and the citizens in the City Hall the same day it was received. The next morning, June 25th, he invited the other councillors and the Common Council to his house, and the two bodies

conferred long and earnestly as to how lawful authority should be restored to the city, and the people quieted. One of their first acts was to remove the Collector of Customs—Ploughman,—who was a Catholic, and therefore ineligible, and to appoint in his place four commissioners, worthy and reputable citizens, Protestants all, Nicholas Bayard heading the list. These gentlemen, after taking the oath of office, received the keys and began their duties. They had barely time to change the first letter in the king's arms, however, when the clank of sabres and tread of armed men was heard, and Leisler, at the head of a body of militia, marched in, and savagely ordered them out of the room. Bayard sternly reminded him that they were there by authority of the king, and warned him against offering violence to his Majesty's officers. Leisler, in reply, began a long tirade, in which the epithets "rogues, traitors, and devils," were freely applied to the commissioners. In the midst of it, a soldier seized Wenham, one of the commissioners, and dragged him into the street, where he was sadly battered by the mob. Bayard himself was struck at fiercely, but warded off the blows, and succeeded in escaping to a house near by, which was at once besieged by the rabble. He, however, escaped to his own house. Meantime a mob filled the street, and clamored for the blood of the aristocrats. They had but one rallying cry: "The rogues have sixty men ready to kill Captain Leisler!"

Next morning friends of Colonel Bayard, including the aldermen, came to him with the warning that

his life was in danger, and besought him to flee the city. Bayard at last consented. Horses were provided outside the city limits, and in disguise, accompanied by two negro servants, he succeeded in leaving the city, and in reaching Albany. He returned secretly in October, having learned that a favorite son was at the point of death. His presence was quickly discovered, however, and an armed posse was sent to the house of death to arrest him. The men searched the house from top to bottom with oaths and ribald shouts, swearing they would fetch their victim "from the gates of hell," but failed to find him. They next attacked the house of Mayor Van Cortlandt, threatening to take his life, but were held at bay by Mrs. Van Cortlandt until her husband could make his escape. Fleeing from the city, Van Cortlandt passed up into Connecticut, and took refuge with Governor Treat, at Hartford.

It is not necessary to detail the various acts of violence and usurpation committed by Leisler from this time forward. Let us see how retribution finally came to him.

Shakespeare's Ariel must have written the first state paper intended to regulate affairs at New York. Nicholson had not then reached London, and the ministry, supposing him to be still in power, addressed a letter to him ordering him to assume the government, call the chief citizens to his aid, and "do and perform all the requirements of the office." By some fatuity, this letter was not addressed to Nicholson by name, but to "Our Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our

Province of New York in America, and in his absence to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws in our said province of New York in America."

When John Riggs, the messenger bearing this letter, reached New York, Leisler sent an armed force to conduct him to the fort. Next morning the councillors, summoned by Riggs, met in the fort to receive the letter, but were not allowed to accept it by Leisler. "The king," he said, "knew that he was at the head of the government, and intended the letter for him." The councillors protested, but Leisler's show of force overawed the messenger, and the packet was delivered to him, whereupon he turned upon the councillors, and calling them "popishly-affected dogs and rogues," bade them "begone." Leisler now told the people that the king had named him Lieutenant-Governor, and at once entered on the duties of the office—appointed a council and other officials, had William and Mary proclaimed a second time, and when the Sabbath came, rode to the Dutch Church and sat in the Governor's pew, while his council walked gravely in and seated themselves in the pew reserved for magistrates.

One can imagine the feelings of the aristocrats. No doubt they prayed heartily that this rogue might soon come to the end of his tether. Meantime Governor Nicholson had reached London, and had laid his case before the king and the Plantation Committee. They sustained him in all his acts, and at once appointed a new governor, Colonel Henry Sloughter, while Nicholson was rewarded by being

made Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia. The Irish and other internal troubles, however, prevented Slougher from at once setting out, and for some time longer the Lord of Misrule continued to play his pranks with the colony. In the winter of 1690, Leisler learned that Sir Edmond Andros, who had lain in jail in Boston since his arrest, was about to be sent to England for trial, and apprehensive that the councillors would send letters to the king by him, he caused sturdy John Perry, the Boston post rider, to be closely watched. The house of Colonel Lewis Morris, in Westchester, was the last place where Perry received letters for Boston, and one day, after leaving it, he was seized by Leisler's men-at-arms, brought to the city, and thrown into prison. In his mail-bag were found, as Leisler had suspected, letters to the king from Bayard, Van Cortlandt, and others of their party, complaining bitterly of the acts of the usurper. Leisler at once proclaimed that he had discovered a "hellish conspiracy" against the government, and that Colonel Bayard was the ringleader in it. A file of soldiers, therefore, seized that gentleman, loaded him with chains, and cast him into the common gaol, where he received the treatment accorded the worst malefactors. Van Cortlandt escaped the soldiers and became again a fugitive, but William Nicolls, the Attorney-General of the province, was captured and lodged in the same prison with Colonel Bayard.

In the spring of 1690 Leisler called a congress of all the colonies, to meet at New York, and deliberate on the threatening attitude of the French in Canada. This was the first American Colonial Congress, and met in New York May 1, 1690.

Tyranny often works its own cure ; and the weakest of all governments is that based on the ignorance and superstition of the governed. Leisler had by this time become very unpopular with the people. His imprisonment of so many leading citizens shocked their sense of justice, and to many other odious and arbitrary acts he now added that of seizing estates and personal property to satisfy taxes. The right of his Assembly to lay such taxes was denied by many, and refusal to pay was often followed by confiscation. "Governor Dog-driver," "Lieutenant Blockhead," "Deacon Jailer," were the epithets now conferred upon him. Once, in May, 1690, he was assaulted in the streets.

An address to William and Mary, written about this time, and signed by the French and Dutch domines and leading citizens of New York, describes the city as being "at the sole will of an insolent alien, assisted by those who formerly were not thought fit to bear the meanest office, several of whom can be proved guilty of enormous crimes. . . . They imprison at will, open letters, seize estates, plunder houses, and abuse the clergymen."

Some six months later, after a series of fresh outrages, the people of Jamaica, Hempstead, Flushing, and Newtown addressed a yet more piteous appeal to the king's secretary.

Milborne, they charged, famous for nothing but cruelty, had "in a barbarous and inhuman manner plundered houses, stripped women of their apparel, and sequestered estates," and they besought the king to relieve them of this oppressor, all of whose

acts seemed based on Catiline's maxim: "The ills that I have done cannot be safe but by attempting greater." The king seems to have been brought to a lively sense of the situation by these petitions, and Governor Sloughter was ordered to proceed to his government at once. The *Archangel*, the *Beaver*, and two smaller vessels were gotten ready, two companies of soldiers were placed on board, and early in December, 1690, the fleet set sail, Sloughter and his staff in the *Archangel*, Major Richard Ingoldsby, the Lieutenant-Governor, in the *Beaver*. The instructions, commissions, Leisler's letters, and the petitions of the people were given to Sloughter, with instructions to inquire carefully into the whole story of Leisler's rule. Sloughter was given also a system of government for the colony, which continued in force until the close of the Revolution. It differed little from that of James. There was to be a governor and council appointed by the king and an assembly elected by the people. Liberty of conscience was assured all peaceable citizens "except Papists"; but the Church of England was made the State church and placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. The former members of the council were re-appointed with scarcely an exception, thus condemning Leisler in advance. News reached New York, by way of Boston, that the Governor was on the way, long before the ships arrived. Both parties watched breathlessly, as one might say, the day of reckoning. At length, on the 29th of January, 1691, a vessel was signalled from the Battery, and as she came on it was seen that it was one of the Governor's

fleet. One, two, three soon appeared, but the fourth could nowhere be discovered. By strange mischance the absent vessel proved to be the *Archangel*, the one which bore the Governor. Had it been either of the others, the crimes of treason and murder might not have been fixed on Leisler, and the city would have been spared scenes of riot and bloodshed. As the *Beaver* came to anchor she was boarded by Phillipse, Van Cortlandt, and others, to whom Ingoldsby explained that the fleet had been separated by a great storm, and that, for aught he knew, the *Archangel* might be at the bottom of the sea.

The councillors then briefly acquainted him with the position of affairs, and urged that he make an immediate demand for the possession of the fort and government. A strange scene ensued—one of the last acts in this *tragedy* of errors.

Ingoldsby sent a messenger to Leisler demanding the fort for the king's soldiers and their stores. Leisler, in reply, demanded to be shown Ingoldsby's commission and authority. The Lieutenant-Governor had nothing of the sort; every thing was with Governor Sloughter in the *Archangel*. Leisler then replied, emphasizing his loyalty to the king, and tendering the City Hall for the troops, but refusing to yield the fort until Ingoldsby could produce written orders from the king or Governor. Ingoldsby was afraid to land, and remained cooped up in his ship for several days; but at last, being assured that the great body of the people were with him, he landed his soldiers as cautiously, he wrote home, as though making "a de-

scent into the country of an enemy," and took post in the City Hall. Next he sent a letter to Leisler, ordering him to release Bayard and Nicolls—still confined in the fort,—since they were named councillors to the king. This demand threw Leisler into a paroxysm of rage. "What!" he cried, "those popish dogs and rogues!" and he returned word that he should hold the prisoners until his Majesty's further orders arrived. This was the situation from day to day for six weeks: the king's Lieutenant-Governor cooped up in the City Hall, practically a prisoner; the king's councillors confined in the common gaol; both controlled and dictated to by a citizen whose power consisted only in his supposed hold on the people and his command of the city militia. Perhaps if Ingoldsby, who was a brave soldier, could have produced his commission, he would have adopted a bolder policy.

It is charitable to suppose that Leisler was at this time really insane. He now committed the overt act.

Hearing that Ingoldsby and the councillors had gathered a force of several hundred men in the city, he sent orders to them to disperse under pain of being attacked and destroyed. Two hours for a reply was the ultimatum. It came in less time. It said that the Lieutenant-Governor proposed to preserve the peace, and that whoever should attack him would render themselves "public enemies to the crown of England." Some of Ingoldsby's soldiers were drawn up on parade, probably on the Bowling Green, as Leisler received the message. A gun from the fort was at once turned on them and fired. A

house in which the soldiers lodged was also fired into. Two British soldiers were killed and several wounded. The fire was returned without injuring any of Leisler's men. Next day, March 19th, as both parties stood at bay confronting each other, the *Archangel* was signalled in the Narrows. Had she been really a celestial visitant, she could not have been more welcome. Governor Sloughter, being informed of the condition of affairs, hurried in a pinnace to the city. Night fell ere he arrived, but he went at once to the City Hall, where his commission was read to the people. Their joyous shouts and acclamations, we are told, were heard by Leisler in the fort. The Governor and the councillors then took the oath of office. It was eleven o'clock at night; nevertheless, Ingoldsby and his soldiers were despatched to the fort to demand it in the name of the king. Leisler would not comply until he had sent Sergeant Stoll, who had met the Governor abroad, to make sure of him as the real Sloughter. Stoll told Governor Sloughter that he was glad to find him the same man he had known in England. "Yes," was the quick retort, "I have been seen in England, and intend now to be seen in New York." Stoll, as an envoy, was ignored, however, and Ingoldsby was again sent to the fort with orders for Leisler and those calling themselves his council to report to the Governor at once, and to bring Bayard and Nicolls, the prisoners, with them. But Leisler was fruitful in expedients, and urged that it would be against all military precedent to surrender a fort at night. A third time Ingoldsby

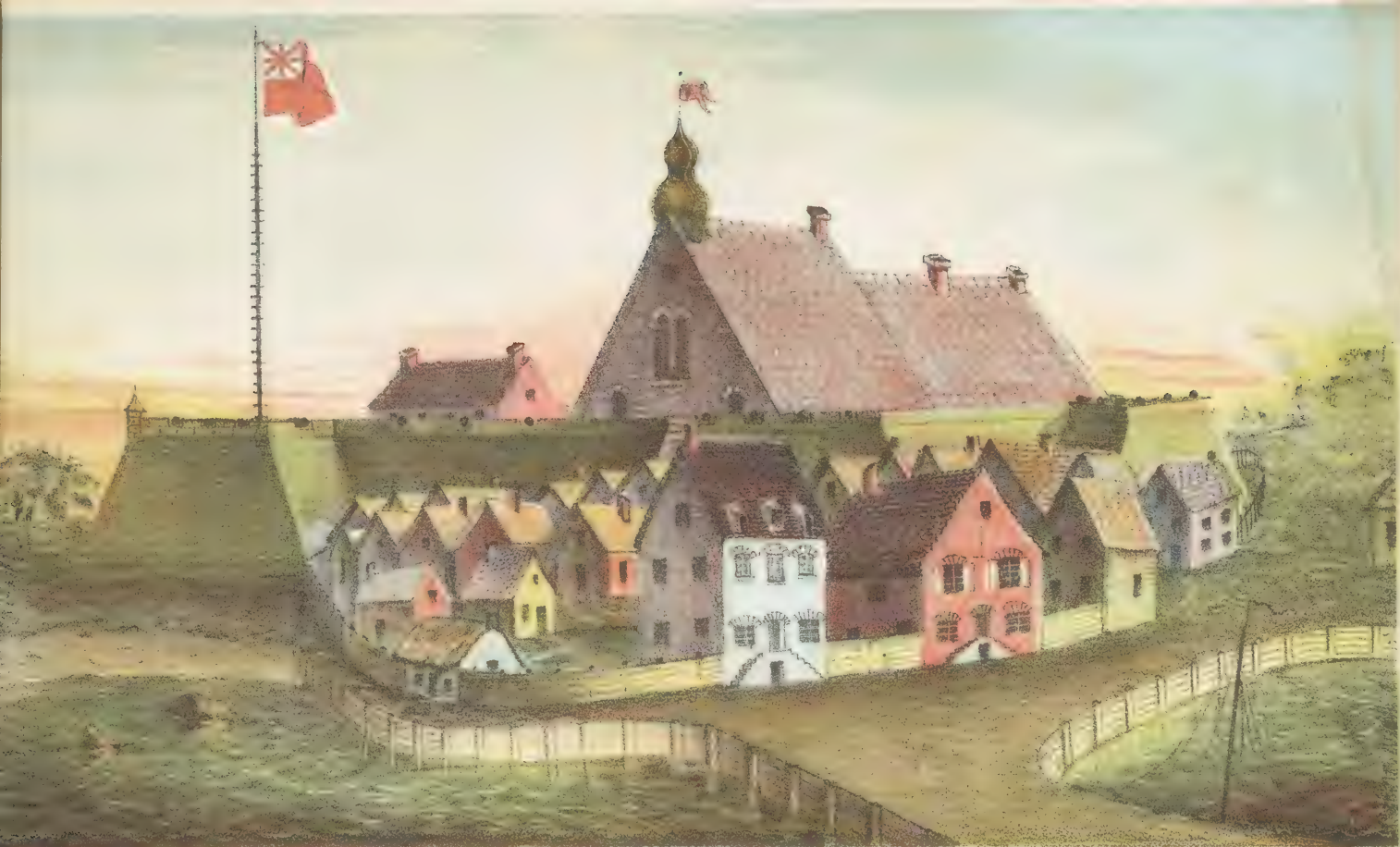
was sent, and a third time he was "contemptuously" refused. Then, it being past midnight, Governor, councillors, and messengers retired with an agreement to meet at an early hour next morning. The morning came, and Governor and council met promptly at the City Hall. In the interim Slough-ter had matured his plans. Taking no notice of a humble letter from Leisler, asserting his loyalty, and offering to give "an exact account of all his actions and conduct," he ordered Ingoldsby to go to the fort and command the men to lay down their arms, offering pardon to all save Leisler and his council. Ingoldsby did so. Leisler and his councillors were given up to the guards, and led prisoners to the City Hall. Then the heavy doors of the dungeons were thrown open, and Bayard and Nicolls, aged and emaciated almost beyond recognition, tottered out into the sunlight. They were met with congratulations mingled with exclamations of pity. For thirteen months they had languished in prison, their estates plundered by a military despot, and their families exposed to the fury of a mob. Bayard and Nicolls were conducted to the City Hall, where they took the oath of office amid the cheers of the people. Leisler and his councillors were then led through the street to the fort, and thrust into the cells just vacated by their victims; the chain that Bayard had worn was even put upon Leisler's leg. A popular demand at once arose for the speedy trial and punishment of Leisler and his council. Slough-ter, quite willing to escape the ordeal of sitting in judgment on them, agreed that a civil trial should be had. On Monday,

March 23d, three days after the surrender, the prisoners were examined and bound over for trial. The case was next given to the grand jury, which found a true bill against Leisler, Milborne, and eight others, and indicted them for treason and murder, "for holding by force the king's fort against the king's Governor, after the publication of his commission, and after demand had been made in the king's name, and in the reducing of which lives had been lost." Many other crimes might have been charged against the prisoners, but the prosecution wisely decided to bring only this, the penalty of which, if proven, was death.

The court sat March 30th, and the trial proceeded with that solemnity and stately ceremonial which then characterized English court procedure. It was a special court of Oyer and Terminer. The judges, too, had been specially appointed, and a very august tribunal they were, as they sat there clad in their black robes and full-bottomed wigs — Chief-Justice Dudley, Thomas Johnson, Sir Robert Robinson, former Governor of Bermuda, Jasper Hicks, Captain of the *Archangel* frigate, Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby, Colonel William Smith, Major John Lawrence, Recorder Pinhorn, John Younge, and Isaac Arnold. They were gentlemen who had suffered little or nothing from the prisoners, and were considered least prejudiced against them. The trial lasted eight days, and was watched with intense interest by every class of citizens. Not for sixty years would the city see another trial of such absorbing interest. The eight lesser prisoners pleaded not guilty to the

charge. Leisler and Milborne declined to plead at all until the court should decide whether the king's letter to Nicholson had conferred the government on Leisler. The court referred the question to Governor Sloughter and his councillors, and their prompt reply was that neither in the king's letter, nor in the papers of the Privy Council, was there any authority for the prisoner to seize upon the government. This swept away any defence the prisoners may have hoped to make. Unless they could prove authority for their acts they stood convicted. Leisler and Milborne did the best that could be done under the circumstances. They refused to plead, and appealed to the king. They were therefore tried as "mutes." Leisler, Milborne and six of the eight other prisoners were found guilty; two were acquitted. Chief-Justice Dudley at once passed sentence of death upon the eight, there being but short shift in those days between trial and execution. The prisoners pleaded for a reprieve until the king's pleasure should be known, and the petition was for a time entertained, Sloughter having doubts as to his authority for signing the death-warrant in case of an appeal to the king. In his letter to William accompanying the petition, Sloughter wrote: "Never greater villains lived, but I am resolved to wait your pleasure, if by any other means than hanging I can keep the country quiet."

It was soon impressed upon him, however, that there was no security for the country's peace until the leaders, at least, were executed. The Dutch clergymen, it is said, openly advocated from the pul-



Nº 1 The residence of Jacob Leisler on the Strand' (now Whitehall Street, N.Y.)

THE FIRST BRICK DWELLING ERECTED IN THE CITY.

pit the death of Leisler and Milborne. Ladies of the highest station, who had suffered from Leisler's acts, earnestly pleaded with the Governor to sign the death-warrant. The most loyal and eminent men of the province came to him, declaring that there was no security for life or property while the leaders lived, as they could at any moment be rescued by a mob; they even said that they would remove from the country unless the sentence was carried out. There were counter-petitions, too, from the friends and families of the condemned, praying for clemency. At length news came from Albany that the Mohawks, incensed by certain acts of Leisler and his lieutenants while in power, were on the point of joining the French, and that nothing would have greater influence in quieting them than the death of their enemy.

At a meeting of the Governor and council held May 14th, it was "unanimously resolved" that, for the satisfaction of the Indians, and the assertion of the government and authority, and the prevention of insurrections and disorders for the future, it is absolutely necessary that the sentence pronounced against the principal offenders be forthwith put in execution." A minute of this action was sent to the Provincial Assembly—which the Governor had convened,—and returned with this endorsement: "This House, according to their opinion given, do approve of what his Excellency and Council have done."

Upon this grave counsel and advice, the Governor signed the death-warrant. On a dismal, rainy Saturday morning Leisler and Milborne were brought

out to die. The gallows had been erected on what is now the east side of the City Hall Park, near the present site of the *Sun* newspaper office. A motley crowd assembled, and greeted the condemned, as they appeared, with oaths and ribald shouts, and were only prevented from doing them bodily harm by a strong guard of soldiers. Leisler met his fate with firmness and dignity. He made a long speech on the scaffold, from which we extract two sentences:

“So far from revenge do we depart this world, that we require and make it our dying request to all our relations and friends, that they should in time to come be forgetful of any injury done to us, or either of us, so that on both sides the discord and dissension (which were created by the Devil in the beginning) may, with our ashes, be buried in oblivion, never more to rise up for the trouble of future posterity.” And again: “All that for our dying comfort we can say concerning the point for which we are condemned, is to declare as our last words, before that God whom we hope before long to see, that our sole aim and object in the conduct of the government was to maintain the interest of our sovereign Lord and Lady and the reformed Protestant churches of these parts.”

Perhaps the justest judgment that could be passed over this man is, that he was of unsound mind, crazed by religious fanaticism, fear of Popish plots, and unwonted possession of unlimited power. His earnest prayer that dissension should end with his death was not however fulfilled: his faction continued to survive for generations, and was a thorn in the side of royal governors for half a century. When the

appeal of Leisler came before King William, he declared that the sentence was a righteous one and sustained the judges. He restored the estates of the deceased to their heirs, however, on the ground of loyal services rendered by Leisler, and four years later, in 1695, Parliament, on petition, reversed the decree of attainder, thus removing the stigma of treason. The six minor prisoners condemned with Leisler and Milborne, were eventually released.





VIII.

THE ROMANTIC AGE.

A LITTLE more than two months after the execution of Leisler, Governor Sloughter died suddenly, not without suspicion of having been poisoned. Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby took the helm of government for a brief period—from July, 1691, to August, 1692,—when he was succeeded by Colonel Benjamin Fletcher. This gentleman was a soldier, who had been advanced by brave service done their Majesties in the Low Countries. He was a courtier, too, a politic man, shrewd, pliant, persuasive, possessing many of the characteristics of the modern politician—not to be commended for every thing he did, but perhaps the best man for the place that could have been found; for he came to the government in “very troublous days” indeed. The French and Indians were pressing hard his northern frontiers, and the spirit of faction was rife in the city. The Leislerites, having recovered from their panic, were engaged in constant intrigues and collisions with the aristocratic party, so-called, the issue being the execution, or “murder,” as the former called it, of Leisler and Milborne.

Governor Fletcher’s reign may be termed the

A Plan of the City of New York from an actual Survey

Made by James Lyne

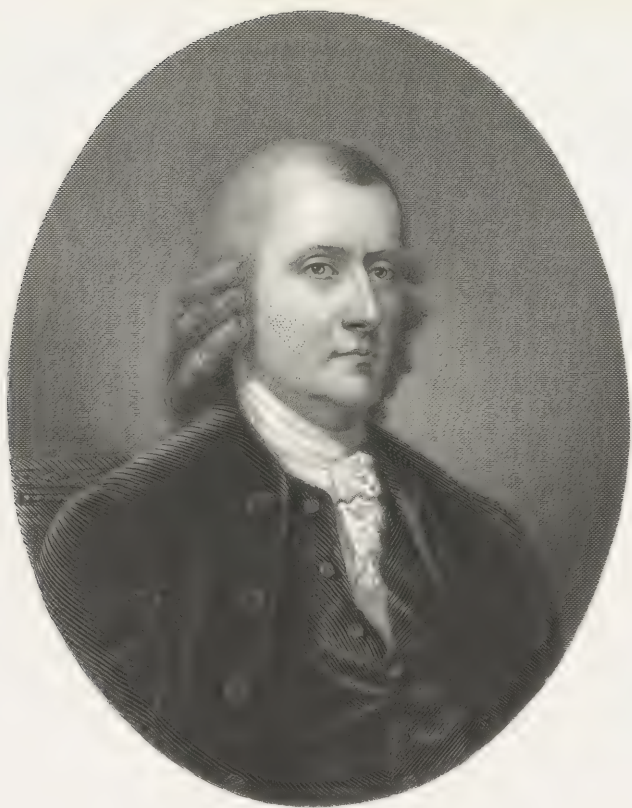


FACSIMILE of an original map made -1728 Reprinted by John Slater Bookseller N^o 204 Chatham Square New York

romantic age of the city—the age of tradition and story, of privateer and pirate, of Captain Kidd and the Red Sea Men. We will consider this subject of piracy somewhat at length, from its rare literary interest, and because former historians have dwelt but briefly upon it. The privateers were successors of the “buccaneers,” bodies of adventurers who, early in the sixteenth century, under the patronage of the English and French courts, established themselves on the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and waged bitter war against the common enemy, the Spaniards, whose many rich and populous cities scattered along the Mexican and South American Coasts of that sea invited to attack. The privateer, who succeeded them, was more regular. He was a private citizen, owner of a swift merchant-vessel, whom his government in time of war commissioned to proceed against the enemy and kill, burn, and capture wherever he might meet him. If captured, the privateer’s commission entitled him to be treated as a prisoner of war. The English, Dutch, and French were the first to adopt this arm of war, and it continued to be used by them until abolished by the treaty of Paris in 1856. If, however, a privateer turned his guns upon peaceful nations not named in his commission, he became a pirate, and the common enemy of mankind. A Captain Petersen was the first American privateer of whom we have an account, and we know of him only from the fact that with his barque of twenty-two guns and seventy men he captured two French vessels off the Canadian coast, and not content with that exploit, attacked and carried the French fort

Chibocoton near by, the commander of which had put off in a small boat to learn the cause of the firing.

The war between France and England, known in history as King William's war, which broke out in 1688-9, greatly increased the number of these privateers, not a few of whom became pirates. If they adopted piracy, their method was to bear away for the Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf, and that part of the Indian Ocean which washes the southern shore of Asia. The rich argosies of the Dutch and British East India Companies then traversed those seas, and there was also a rich coasting trade between the opulent cities of Arabia and the adjoining countries and India. These coasters were generally unarmed, and no match for the fierce, swift, corsairs which darted on them like a falcon on its prey. The booty secured, there were two ways of disposing of it. Sometimes the pirate himself returned to New York as an honest privateer and entered his cargo in the Admiralty Court, where it was sold by due process of law. Again he ran down with his plunder to the island of Madagascar, where the pirates had a grand rendezvous—a village with warehouses and magazines filled with gold and East India goods, and defended by a fort and stockade. Here he usually found a merchant-ship in waiting, sent out by some firm in New York with which he had an understanding, and which was ready to exchange the goods she had brought out for those taken by the pirates, or to purchase the latter for cash. This done, the merchant vessel sailed for New York, where her cargo was entered as East India goods secured in the



John Greyer

regular way, the pirate meanwhile setting forth in quest of fresh victims.

This trade with the pirates soon came to be a regularly organized traffic, and enormous fortunes were made and lost in it. The fate of four vessels which all sailed from New York in July, 1698, for Madagascar, may be taken as an illustration. The first, the *Nassau*, Captain Giles Shelley, was laden with Jamaica rum, Madeira wine, and gunpowder. The rum cost in New York two shillings per gallon, and was sold in Madagascar for three pounds per gallon. The wine cost nineteen pounds per pipe, and was sold for three hundred pounds; and the gunpowder we may suppose at a similar advance. In return, the *Nassau* purchased East India goods and slaves of the pirates, and taking twenty-nine of the latter as passengers, sailed for home. The pirates paid four thousand pounds for their passage, and the voyage is said to have netted the owners thirty thousand pounds.

A sister ship, the *Prophet Daniel*, was not so fortunate. She too cleared for Madagascar, ostensibly for slaves. Her supercargo, John Cruger, a young man of spirit and enterprise, who later became a great merchant, and mayor of the city, in his log-book of the voyage, gives this unique account of the fate of the vessel:

"24th August (1699), arrived at Fort Dolphin (a famous pirate haunt on the African coast). I acquainted Mr. Abraham Samuel, the king of that place, of my arrival, and came with him to a trade. 12th September, I went with Mr. Samuel twenty-five miles up in the

country, and on the second day after, I got the miserable news that our ship was taken by a vessel that came into the harbor the night before, whereupon I made all the haste down I could. We got some of the subjects of Mr. Samuel to assist us, and fired upon the pirate for two days, but could do no good. Then I hired two men to swim off in the night to cut their cables, but Mr. Samuel charged his men not to meddle with them (as I was informed); said Samuel having got a letter from on board the pirate, in which, I suppose, they made great promises, so that he forbade us on our lives to meddle with any of the said pirates. It appears that the manner in which they took us was as follows: When their ship came to an anchor in the harbor, they desired our boat to give them a cast on shore, they having lost their boat, and pretended to be a merchant-ship, and had about fifty negroes on board. At night the captain of the pirate desired that our boat might give him a cast on board of his ship, which was done; and coming on board he desired the men to drink with him; and when our men were going on board their ship again he stopped them by violence; and at about 9 o'clock at night they manned the boat, and took our ship, and presently carried away all the money that was on board, rigging, and other things, and then gave the ship and negroes and other things that were on board to Mr. Samuel.

“Mr. Samuel took likewise away from me twenty-two casks of powder, and forty-nine small arms; likewise all the sails belonging to the *Prophet*, which were on shore, and then sold the ship again to Isaac Ruff, Thomas Wells, Edmond Conklin, and Edward Woodman, as it was reported, for fourteen hundred pieces of eight. The purchasers designed to go from Fort Dolphin to the island of Don Mascourena, thence to Mattatana upon Madagascar,

and so for America. Some days after there arrived at Fort Dolphin a small pinke called the *Vine*, from London, which took in slaves for Barbadoes, in which I took my passage, and was forced to pay for the same sixty-six pieces of eight and two slaves."

The captain of the pirate, Evan Jones, and several of the crew were known to Cruger, who records that they were from "Westchester, New York." Of the two other ships that sailed on the same errand—slaves and East India goods,—one was captured by an East India Company's frigate, and the other by New York pirates—so we see that this questionable trade was not always prosperous. For it was a questionable trade. True, the merchants of New York were not supposed to know that these goods were obtained by piracy: they simply sent their cargoes to Madagascar, and purchased of factors these East India goods in return. Yet there were few in New York so simple as not to know whence these rich cargoes were derived.

While the trade lasted, it lent a sort of picturesque and Oriental magnificence to the city. Rare fabrics of Teheran and Samarcand, costly perfumes, spices, ointments, and precious woods filled her warehouses; Arabian gold was current coin; her women were arrayed in robes woven for Eastern queens; jewels and gems of costliest workmanship in gold, silver, ivory, and pearl sparkled on their fingers and bosoms; and in the merchants' houses were the Persian rugs and carpets, the bizarre bric-à-brac and curiously carved furniture of the East. New York was never so near the Orient as in those days. The pirate cap-

tains were notable persons at this time. People pointed them out on the streets as now we point out a visiting magnate or literary celebrity. They were not termed pirates, but privateers; and as they dressed well, spent money freely, and were men of infinite jest, excellent story-tellers, they were freely invited to the tables of the resident gentry, and even to that of the governor himself. Indeed, his commerce with the pirates was the scandal of Governor Fletcher's reign; but as he afterward cleared himself in an examination before the Commissioners of Trade in England, it is probable that his relations with them were not so bad as painted.

Edward Coates was one of the first of these freebooters of whom we have any account. In 1694, his ship appeared off the east coast of Long Island, having a few days previously divided eighteen hundred pieces of eight among her crew. Coates entered into negotiations with the authorities for permission to come up to the city. The Governor, it was charged, was given the ship, which he afterward sold for £800. Madam Fletcher was presented with chains of Arabian gold, rare gems, and precious silks and cashmeres from Indian looms. The councilors, too, were handsomely feed, and then the pirate ship ventured to come up to her dock. Coates afterward averred that the ransom cost himself and his men £1,800.

Thomas Tew was another of these famous searovers. He came to New York in the November of 1694 with "great wealth from the Indian seas." We have a description of this worthy. He was



BROOKLYN FERRY-HOUSE AND FERRY-BOATS. SITE OF THE PRESENT FULTON FERRY, FROM A VIEW OF NEW YORK IN 1746.

a slight, dark man of about forty who dressed richly and scattered gold profusely. His uniform was a blue cap with a band of cloth of silver. His blue jacket was bordered with gold lace, and further garnished with large pearl buttons. Loose trunks of white linen covered his lower limbs as far as the knee, where they gave place to curiously worked stockings. A rich chain of Arabian gold hung from his neck, and through the meshes of a curiously knit belt gleamed a dagger, its hilt set with the rarest of gems. This person, dispensing draughts of Sopus ale to whoever would drink, and throwing golden louis d'or about as carelessly as though they were stuyvers, soon became a familiar object in the streets and taverns of New York.

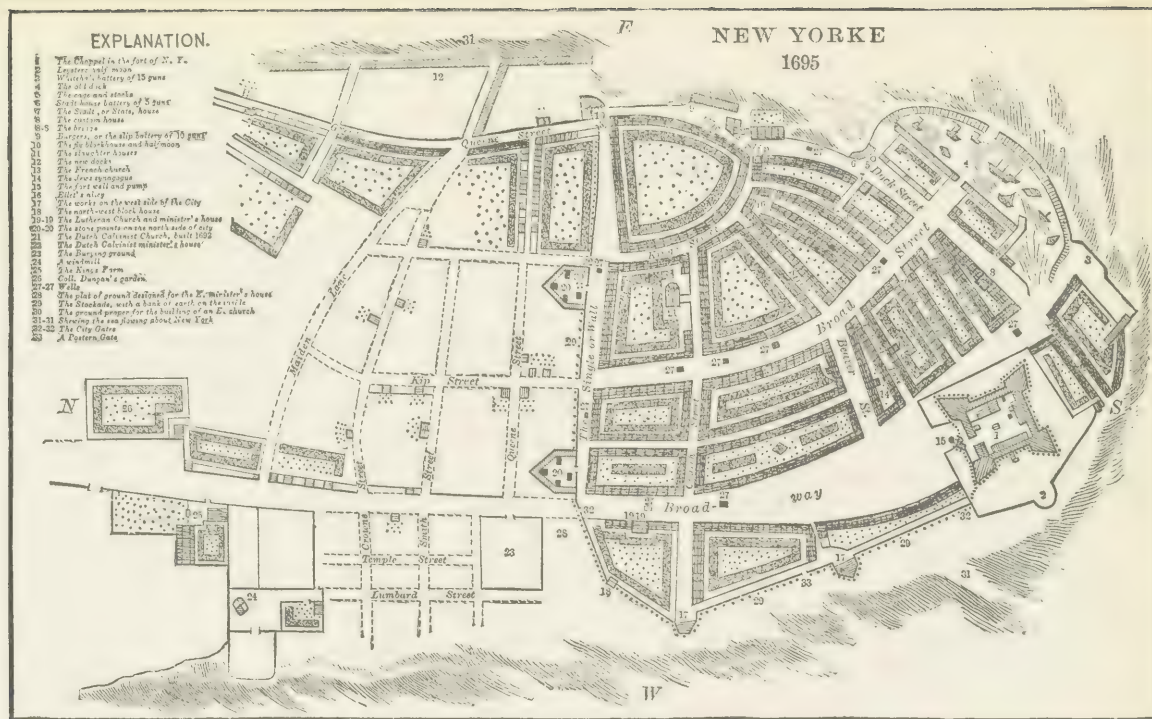
But this influx of ill-gotten wealth did not really benefit the city. Riches thus acquired never benefit in the end; the sum of human experience is and always will be, that honesty is the best policy. In this case, these fortunes, *quickly won*, created a distaste for the slower methods of legitimate trade; they fostered rash enterprises and hazardous ventures, and very soon brought punishment and disgrace. It was not to be expected that the powerful East India Company would long submit to such depredations on its property. It called the attention of the king and Privy Council to them, and again and again urged that a suitable naval force should be sent into the Indian seas to protect its property and capture the marauders. But alas, all the ship's frigates were engaged in the war with France; and then again, there was the difficulty of catching the

freebooters, who sailed in swift ships, and had a thousand hiding-places along the savage coasts.

This scarcity of ships and urgency of the merchants introduces one of the most striking and dramatic chapters in the history of New York, and also that most notorious character of his age, Captain William Kidd. This person is a striking example of the power of a nation's ballad-makers. English minstrels have made his name a household word. Our own Poe and Irving have conjured with him most effectively. Fortune-hunters have prodded the sands of the Atlantic coast from Montauk Point to the Florida reefs in search of his buried treasure, while Sound skippers still see his low, black, rakish craft flying down the Sound in the scud of the departing storms. So much has been said of him in song and story; that the reader will no doubt be glad to know something of his actual career. When history takes him up, Captain Kidd was master of the trading barque *Antigua*, sailing between New York and London, and well known to the merchants of both cities as a bold and skilful navigator. In his certificate of marriage to Sarah Oort, widow, in 1691, he is styled "Captain William Kidd, Gentleman." He had a house and lot on Tienhoven Street (now Liberty), where his wife and their only child (a daughter) lived, and was a man of wealth and consideration. While the king and his ministers were considering the demands of the East India Company, Kidd was on the Atlantic bound to London. With him, as a passenger, sailed Robert Livingston, a leading character in the province of New York, well born in



RESIDENCE OF CAPT WILLIAM KIDD, 1691. NOW CORNER PEARL AND HANOVER STREETS



England, Town Clerk of Albany, Secretary of Indian Affairs, Commissary of the Provincial Army, and founder of the manor of Livingston. The two men knew of the king's strait, and over the *Antigua's* dinner-table formed a plan which, on their arrival in London, was pressed on the ministers and the king with all the influence they could command. The plan was, in brief, that Kidd, who knew most of the pirates frequenting New York and their haunts, should be given an armed vessel well manned, and, furnished with a private commission from the king, should go in pursuit of the pirates, and capture them wherever they could be found. Five of the leading noblemen of the realm—Somers the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Bellomont, the Earl of Romney, the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the Earl of Oxford, with Livingston and Kidd, agreed to furnish the funds for the enterprise, and were to be repaid by a certain share of the property taken from the pirates. The king also was made a partner in the enterprise, receiving a share of the profits. The *Adventure Galley*, a large ship, was provided and manned with seventy men, and in her Kidd set sail, arriving in New York in the spring of 1696. He soon filled the city with placards asking for men to engage in his adventure, and beat up the town for recruits. Captain Kidd and his novel design of pirate-hunting became the talk of the day, and the army of nondescripts that then filled the city—pirates, privateersmen, ne'er-do-wells, young men from the country eager for adventure and booty—hastened to enroll themselves under his banner. One hundred more men were secured



CAPTAIN KIDD BURYING HIS TREASURES.

in this way; but the wiseacres of the port shook their heads over the affair. They said that when Captain Kidd put to sea, if he failed to capture any pirates to provide prize-money for his crew, they would mutiny and turn pirates themselves—which was, in fact, what happened. After patrolling the American coast for a while without result, Kidd bore up for the Red Sea, and nothing was seen of him in New York for nearly three years. Meantime, Colonel Fletcher had been recalled, chiefly because of his supposed collusion with pirates, and Richard, Earl of Bellomont, an Irish nobleman of the highest character, who had been very active against the freebooters, was appointed Captain-General of New York and New England, with special instructions to suppress piracy and smuggling in the colonies. Bellomont reached New York April 2, 1698, and was received with much rejoicing and stately ceremonial.





IX.

THE EARLIER CHURCHES OF NEW YORK.

IN the period covered by the preceding chapter some interesting and even historic church edifices were built in New York. The first of these was the Dutch Reformed Church of St. Nicholas, on Garden Street. In 1691 the congregation became dissatisfied with the stone church in the fort. It was growing small for their numbers, and besides, it seemed unseemly that the temple of the Prince of Peace should be placed in the midst of warlike armament and preparations. They decided, therefore, to build a new church. On what is now Exchange Place—the narrow street whose towering buildings cast the shadows of late afternoon at mid-day—Mother Drisius then owned an extensive peach orchard, and she, on being appealed to, consented to sell it to the Consistory for a church site. The new building was completed and dedicated in 1693, and was much the finest church edifice then in the country. It was built of brick, in the form of an oblong square, with a large steeple in front, in the base of which was a room large enough for the Consistory to hold its meetings. The windows were long and narrow, with small panes, on which Master Gerard Duykinck had



THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH IN GARDEN STREET. BUILT IN 1693

burned the arms of the principal families of the congregation. The bell, pulpit, and other furniture of the old church were transferred to the new, and many painted family escutcheons were afterwards added. In 1694, the silver workers of Amsterdam wrought out for it a silver baptismal bowl, on which were engraved sentences from the pen of Domine Selyns, indicating its spiritual significance. This interesting relic is still in use in Dr. Terry's church, corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-First Street, the lineal descendant of the Garden Street church.*

This church also enjoys the distinction of having been the first religious society chartered in the colony, its charter taking precedence of Trinity's by some months. The instrument gave it legal power to call its minister, to hold property acquired by gift or devise, and made payment of church rates compulsory on its members. Meantime the members of the Church of England had been worshipping in the chapel in the fort. In 1696 they too became dissatisfied with the chapel, and decided to erect a church of their own. Governor Fletcher was warmly in favor of the project, and gave them the revenue of the King's Farm, which was one of the Governor's

* I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Chambers, of New York, for the following translation of the inscription, in old German characters, on the bowl:

“ In mere water put no trust,
'T were better never to be born ;
But see far more in Baptism,
By which man comes never to be lost.
How Christ, with his precious blood,
Cleanses me from my sins,
And by his Spirit makes me live,
And washes my foul misdeeds.”

perquisites, for the term of seven years. This farm consisted of a garden, an orchard, pasturage for horses and cows, and a triangular grave-yard in one corner. The site of the present Trinity was chosen for the new church. Great interest in its erection seems to have been taken by all classes of people. Gifts of money and material were brought. Governor Fletcher, in addition to other gifts, gave it a Bible; the Earl of Bellomont some books of divinity; Lord Cornbury, a black pall, on condition that no one belonging to the city should be denied the use of it. "For building the steeple," Lewis Gomez gave £1 2s.; Abraham Luilna, £1; Rodrego Pacheco, £1; Moses Levy, 11*d.*; Mordecan Nathan, 11*d.*; Jacob Franks, £1; and Moses Michael, 8*s.* 3*d.* The building was completed in 1696. It is said to have been one hundred and forty-eight feet long and seventy-two feet wide, and fronted toward the west. Its steeple, the pride of the city, was one hundred and seventy-five feet high. Over the main entrance was a Latin inscription, "*Per augustam Hoc Trinitatis Templum Fundatum est anno regni illustrissimi,*" etc., the full inscription in English being as follows:

"This Trinity Church was founded in the 8th year of the Most Illustrious Sovereign Lord William the Third, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord 1696, and was built by the voluntary contributions and gifts of some persons, and chiefly enriched and promoted by the bounty of his Excellency, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of this Province, in the time of whose government the in-



from front of Trinity Church, New York, 1852

by Geo. Hayward 17, Pearl St. N.Y.

TRINITY CHURCH.
Broadway, N.Y. rebuilt 1788

habitants of this city, of the Protestant religion of the Church of England, as now established by law, were incorporated by a charter under the seal of the province, and many other valuable gifts he gave to it of his private fortune."

Within, on the walls, were the arms and escutcheons of the principal families. Nearest the chancel, a pew was set apart for the governor, and known as the "Governor's Pew," and which continued to be occupied by the chief magistrate so long as New York remained a colony. The first Trinity was enlarged and improved in 1737, and was destroyed by the great fire of 1776. The following description of the remodelled church, as it appeared in 1750, is given by William Smith, the historian of New York:

"It stands very pleasantly on the banks of the Hudson, and has a large cemetery open on each side, enclosed in front by a painted paled fence. Before it a long walk is railed off from Broadway, the pleasantest street in town. . . . The church within is ornamented beyond any other place of worship among us. The head is adorned with an altar-piece, and opposite is the organ. The tops of the pillars which support the galleries are decked with gilt busts of angels winged. From the ceiling are suspended two glass branches, and on the walls hang the arms of some of the principal benefactors. The alleys are paved with flat stones. The rector is Rev. Henry Barclay, who has a salary of £100 a year, levied on all the other clergy and laity of the city, by virtue of an Act of Assembly procured by Governor Fletcher."

Another interesting church of that day was that of the French Huguenots—*Église Française à la*

Nouvelle York—which began its organized existence in 1688, although, it is said, sermons were preached in the French tongue as early as 1628. Its members were chiefly Huguenots—Protestants of France who had been driven from their homes and firesides by the cruel persecution of Louis XIV. Their history is a very interesting one, although we can refer to it but briefly. In 1598, Henry IV. of France issued his “Edict of Nantes” (so called because first published in the city of Nantes), which, in large measure, granted religious liberty to his Protestant subjects. In 1785, this edict was revoked by Louis XIV., and all persons were required to conform to the Catholic faith on pain of death or banishment. Rather than obey this despotic act, 400,000 people of the best blood of France left their homes and took refuge in Holland, England, Prussia, and other Protestant countries. Thousands came to New York, and held here their ancient worship. November 10, 1687, Rev. Pierre Peiret, of the county of Foix in Southern France, arrived, and the scattered sheep found in him a shepherd. He organized the church at once. October 10, 1788, Domine Selyns wrote: “Our French brethren are doing well, and their congregations increase remarkably by the daily arrival of French refugees.” In that year they built a small church which stood on the site of the present Produce Exchange. It was the only Huguenot Church in the colony, and the people used to come in covered wagons on a Saturday from Long Island, Staten Island, New Rochelle, and other places, outspan their horses, and spend the night in their wagons



A. Weingärtner's Lith. N.Y.

for D. T. Valentine's Manual '85

METHODIST CHURCH in JOHN ST.
erected in 1758.

that they might be ready for service in the morning. On the 8th of July, 1704, Lord Cornbury laid the corner-stone of a new church for them, called *Le Temple du St. Esprit*. This church stood for years on the northeast side of Pine Street, and is still remembered by older citizens. By 1710 it had become one of the wealthiest and strongest in the city. John Fontaine, a traveller, who visited New York in 1716, speaks of attending service there, and observes that "it is very large and beautiful, and within it there was a very great congregation." The same traveller tells us that there was then a French Club in New York. The old church was taken down in 1831, and its bell, the gift of Sir Henry Anhurst, was given to the French church at New Rochelle (now Trinity Episcopal), which, it is said, still retains possession of it.

The first Presbyterian Church in New York was erected in Wall Street in 1719, and is identical with that which now worships in Dr. Van Dyke's stone church on Fifth Avenue, near Eleventh Street. The first Baptist Church in the city was built in 1760, on Gold Street, near John. The Methodists held services in New York as early as 1766, under the leadership of Philip Embury, a local preacher; but their first house of worship, the present John Street church, on John, near Nassau, was not built until 1768.



X.

LORD BELLOMONT'S STORMY REIGN.

NOT long after Governor Bellomont's arrival, it became apparent that his selection was a very unwise one. He was a cold, austere, somewhat bigoted man, of excellent intentions, but lacking in tact, pliancy, and the personal magnetism so necessary in a ruler of men. He was prejudiced against Governor Fletcher and his friends, the chief men of the city, and took no pains to conceal his belief that they were in league with thieves and pirates. His first public act was an exceedingly impolitic one—he espoused the cause of the Leislerites, which had been held in abeyance under Governor Fletcher, and so fomented the faction that it was roused into activity again, and became a disturbing and dangerous element. He issued a writ restoring to their families the estates of Leisler and Milborne, and as these had by this time passed into the hands of innocent parties, the injustice of it nearly provoked a riot in the city. His attempts to suppress piracy, smuggling, and the “manors,” or great landed estates, which had been granted by Governor Fletcher and his predecessors, were equally unwise and futile. These were admittedly great evils; but an entrenched

THE
ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE
1873-1917





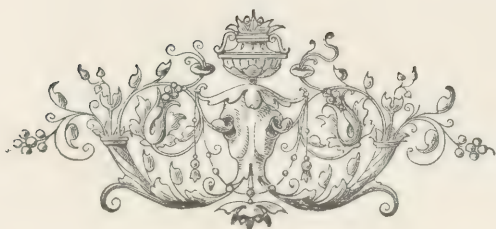
evil cannot be swept away in a moment, and the attempt if made is apt to provoke a revolution. The new Governor ordered summary seizures of goods, and arbitrary arrests of persons on suspicion; he dismissed high officers of government without a hearing, and removed members of the council to supply their places with his partisans; he also prepared a bill for vacating the lands granted by former governors, and prohibiting any one person from holding more than one thousand acres in the province. One of the land grants aimed at was that of Domine Dellius, of Albany, which had been purchased by him of the Indians, and had been confirmed by Fletcher. Another was a grant made by Fletcher to Trinity Church. Thus in a brief period Lord Bellomont found arrayed against him in defence of their rights the clergy, the landed aristocracy, the merchants, and the king's officers. The province was torn with the dissensions of the factions thus created. Domine Dellius sailed for England to lay his grievances before the king. Rev. William Vesey, Rector of Trinity Church, left the Governor out in his prayers on the Sabbath, and openly prayed that Domine Dellius might have a prosperous voyage and be successful with the king. The Governor seems to have had no friends, except the reinstated Leislerites. Meantime Colonel Fletcher, smarting under the imputations cast upon him, had been clamoring to have his accounts with the government settled that he might proceed to England, armed with his vouchers, and have his accounts investigated by the Lords of Trade. Having, he said,

held a commission under the crown for thirty-five years without reproach, "he did not think he should become a castaway in the rear of his days." It is proper to add that in a subsequent examination before the above-named body the charges against him were dismissed as groundless.

In 1699, Bellomont proceeded to Boston to attend to affairs of government in that quarter, and while there had the pleasure of arresting his former friend and whilom associate, Captain Kidd. This personage was either a very great rascal, or a man greatly wronged, probably the latter. On leaving New York in quest of pirates, he had proceeded to the Indian seas, where, as he declared, his men mutinied and forced him to embark in a course of piracy. While the Governor was in Boston, Kidd came into Gardiner's Bay, on the eastern coast of Long Island, with a sloop, having left his "great Moorish ship," the *Quidah Merchant*, in the West Indies, and from that point despatched a message to Lord Bellomont, saying that his men had forced him into piracy, and offering to give up all his treasure, of which he had a large amount, if he could be assured a free pardon. Bellomont said in reply that if Kidd would deliver himself up, and could establish his innocence, he should not be molested. Kidd accordingly came to Boston, where he was arrested and thrown into prison, and on examination was remanded to England for trial. He was hanged on Execution Dock in 1701.

On the 5th of March, 1701, Governor Bellomont died suddenly, and was buried with due honors in

the chapel of the fort. When the latter was levelled in 1790, his leaden coffin was removed, it is said, to St. Paul's Churchyard, although no monument marks his grave. What the outcome of his government would have been had he lived, it is impossible to say, but as it was, he left the colony in a much more unsatisfactory condition than he found it.

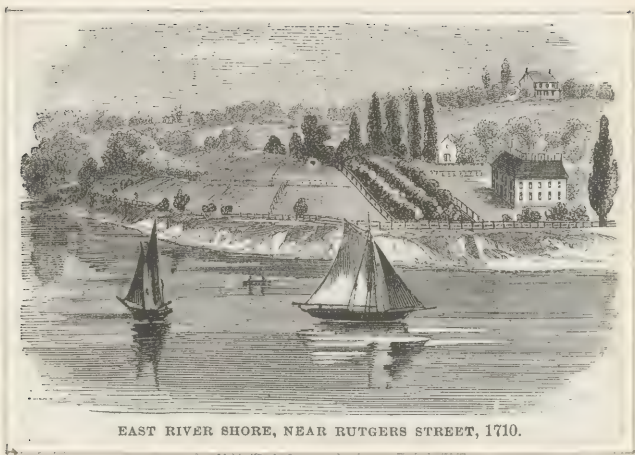




XI.

MIDDLE COLONIAL PERIOD.

THE period between 1701 and 1764 is barren of events of great importance, and may be passed over with brief reference to events of special significance. During this period the French and Indian wars troubled the peace of the city, and more than once she was called upon to furnish men and money for the protection of her northern frontiers. For some time the Leislerites also made much trouble, but in time the bitterness of the quarrel subsided. On the 7th of March, 1702, King William III. died, after a reign of thirteen years, and Queen Anne was at once proclaimed. So excellent a ruler was she that her subjects called her "good Queen Anne." She gave many gifts to struggling churches, and among others, in 1705, Lord Cornbury being Governor, bestowed on Trinity Church the Annetje Jans estate, a tract of some sixty acres above Chambers Street on the west side of Broadway. This was in addition to the King's Farm, before mentioned, and although at that time of little value, now yields large revenues. Lord Lovelace succeeded Lord Cornbury as Governor, and on the former's death, in 1709, Colonel Robert Hunter was appointed Governor. This gen-



EAST RIVER SHORE, NEAR RUTGERS STREET, 1710.

Engraved for the Universal Magazine.



Printed for J. Denton at the Kings Arms in Paternoster Row

tleman was a man of culture and refinement, who, in England, had enjoyed the friendship of Swift, Addison, Steele, and other wits of Queen Anne's reign, and who corresponded with them while in this country. He was accompanied by quite a fleet of vessels bearing three thousand Palatines, Protestant Germans who had been forced from their homes on the Rhine by the French armies, and had sought refuge in England. It was the design of the English minister to plant them on the colony's northern frontiers to serve as a barrier against the French and Indians, and also to employ them in producing naval stores which were then much in demand. And as the poor people were utterly penniless, Queen Anne agreed to give them a free passage to this country, and to maintain them for a specified time until they should be in a position to support themselves. Newburgh, Germantown, the valleys of the Schoharie and Mohawk, and a portion of Pennsylvania, were largely settled by these people.

During Governor Hunter's reign, a serious uprising of the negro slaves occurred. These were mostly Africans, as barbarous as when in their native wilds; and in 1712, a few of them, who had been badly treated by their masters, formed a plot to massacre the people indiscriminately. They met at midnight in an orchard not far from the present Maiden Lane, armed with guns, swords, butcher's knives, and other weapons, and, setting fire to an out-house, struck down the citizens who came running to put it out. Nine men were thus murdered and six severely wounded before any could escape and give the alarm;

but at length the news reached the fort, and the Governor sent a detachment of soldiers to the scene, at the sight of whom the conspirators fled to the forests on the northern part of the island. Sentries were stationed at the ferries that night, and next day the militia was called out, and by beating the wood, succeeded in capturing all but six of the criminals, who committed suicide rather than suffer the vengeance of the whites. Those taken, twenty-one in number, were condemned and executed, several being burned at the stake. A similar plot was discovered in 1741, of which the reader will find an extended account in the chapter on colonial manners and customs.

In 1725 quite an event occurred in the birth of the first newspaper, the *New York Gazette*. It was, indeed, an infant when compared with our present mammoth dailies, being printed on a half sheet of foolscap. It was filled with custom-house entries and foreign news, and appeared weekly. William Bradford, the government printer, was the editor and publisher.

In 1730 another event occurred in the granting of a new city charter, giving increased privileges, which, from the fact of its having been granted during Governor Montgomery's term of office, is known as the Montgomery Charter.

Nine years after its inception the *Gazette* found a rival in a new paper, called the *Weekly Journal*. The *Journal* was edited by John Peter Zenger, one of the Palatines who had come over with Governor Hunter in 1710, and who had been apprenticed to

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Bradford the printer. The new paper supported the party opposed to the Governor ; in fact, it had been established as the organ of the Whig or popular party. There was nothing that the *Journal* could do to bring the "aristocrats," as it called the Governor's party, into contempt that it did not do. It criticised Governor, Councillors, Assemblymen, everybody and every thing connected with the ruling class. It made use of squibs, lampoons, ballads, witticisms, satire, when such would serve its ends, and is noteworthy as furnishing the first instance where the power of the press was invoked in aid of or against a political party. Bradford, who, as the State printer, espoused the Governor's cause, replied in his *Gazette*, but his articles lacked the pith and vigor of those in the *Journal*, some of which were written by the ablest men of the city. At length the Governor's council pronounced four issues of the *Weekly Journal* "libellous," as containing many things "tending to sedition and faction, and to bring his Majesty's government into contempt," and ordered them burned by the public hangman, at the same time directing that the mayor and other city magistrates should attend the ceremony ; but the magistrates declined to obey the council's behest, declaring it to be an arbitrary and illegal act, an opinion which was shared by most of the citizens. But when, a few days later, Zenger was seized and thrown into prison on a charge of libel, the city was wild with excitement. The same spirit which thirty years later resisted the Stamp Act, was exhibited then. Men clearly perceived that the right of the public press

to openly criticise measures of government was in danger, and rallied, not so much to the support of Zenger as to the defence of a free press. The tidings created the greatest excitement throughout the colonies, and the issue of the trial was awaited with the deepest interest.

If Governor Cosby had been a wise man, able to gauge the popular feeling, he would not have forced the issue; but he was not wise, and the trial of Zenger for libel was decided on. The leaders of the popular party in New York at this time, were two lawyers—William Smith and James Alexander. Smith had been Recorder of the city, and had filled other offices with credit, and was noted for his captivating eloquence. Alexander had been Surveyor-General, and had also a great reputation as a lawyer. These two gentlemen now volunteered as counsel for Zenger, but at the outset were betrayed into an indiscretion which led to their removal from the bar. They boldly questioned the legality of the commissions of Chief-Justice De Lancey and of Justice Philipse, the two judges composing the court, on the ground that they were not worded in the usual form, and had been issued by the Governor without consent of the council. The judges considered this act gross contempt of court, and excluded the offenders from further practice. "You have brought it to that point, sirs," said Judge De Lancey, "that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar." John Chambers was assigned as counsel for Zenger; at the same time the disbarred attorneys hastened to Philadelphia, and secured for the defence Andrew Ham-

ilton, who was reputed the greatest and most eloquent lawyer of his day. At the same time through the press, at clubs, and by private conversation they made the public fully acquainted with the merits and demerits of the case.

When the trial came on, in July, 1735, Hamilton

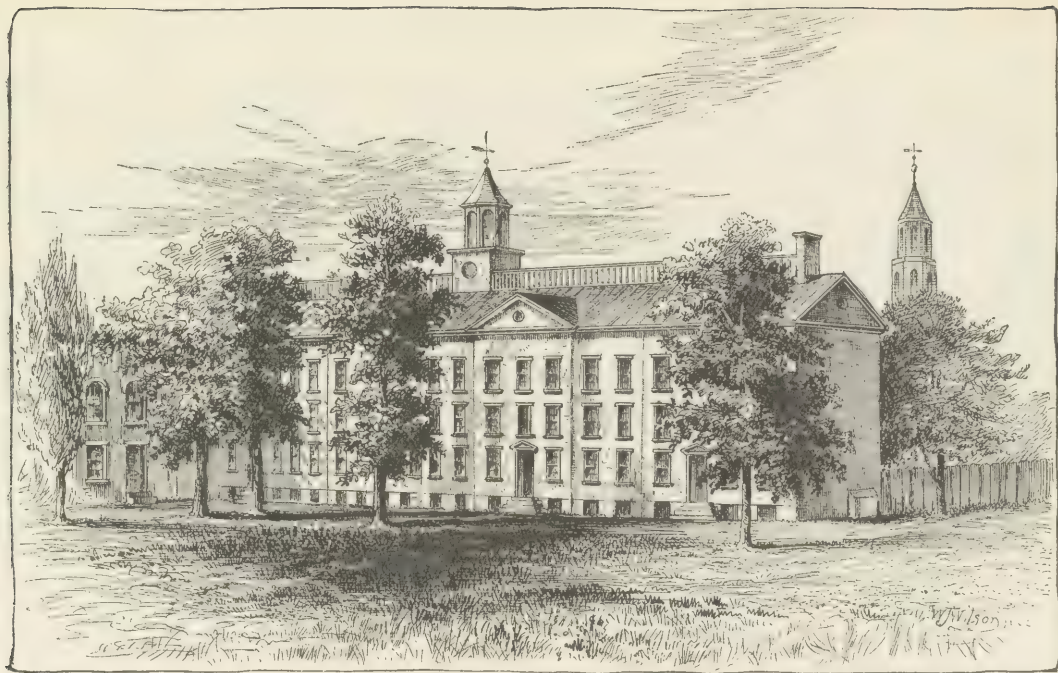


MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE, 1827.

appeared armed for the fray, and was greeted by the crowded court-room as the champion of popular rights. His first contention was that the newspaper articles charged as false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libels, contained only the *truth*, and could not, therefore, be libellous. Bradley, the king's Attorney-General, took exception to

this, and quoted the old English law, that even the truth, if repeated maliciously, with intent to defame and injure another, became a libel, and was punishable as such. The legal battle raged all summer, with varying fortunes for the combatants. At length there came a day when the case was given to the jury. The court's charge had been against the prisoner, but after a few moments' deliberation the jury returned a verdict of "not guilty." It was received with the wildest expressions of delight by the crowds within and without the court-house. Hamilton became the hero of the hour, and would have been borne to his hotel on the shoulders of the people but for his emphatic protest. As it was, the corporation of the city tendered him a public dinner, at which he was presented by the mayor with the freedom of the city in a gold box; the same evening a grand ball was given in his honor. This trial is generally regarded as having secured the freedom of the press in America; it is also interesting to us, as tending to create and sharply define the two great parties of a generation later.

The event of the year 1752 was the building, by subscription, at the foot of Broad Street, of the Royal Exchange, for merchants. The building was supported on arches, the lower story being open—much as markets in southern cities now are. One room in the upper story was set apart as a meeting room for the merchants; a coffee-room, which later became a famous resort, was opened in one end. The Exchange stood until 1827, when it was succeeded by a finer building on Wall Street. It was



the home of the first organization of merchants in the port, the present Chamber of Commerce not having been founded until 1769.

The closing days of British rule in New York were marked by the founding of the city's noblest institution of learning—Columbia College. For several years prior to 1751, sums of money had been raised by public lotteries and other means for the founding of a college in the city. In that year it was learned that £3,443 had been raised, and a bill was passed by the Assembly naming ten trustees to take charge of it. The next year the vestry of Trinity Church offered to donate from the estate granted them by Queen Anne a site and the necessary grounds for a campus. This offer was accepted by the trustees, and in 1753 they invited the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, a clergyman possessing excellent qualifications for the place, to be the first president. His salary was £250 per annum. The vestry gave to the college the use of their large room in the church building, and here in the autumn of 1753 the college was opened with an entering class of ten. The charter, signed by Acting Governor De Lancey, October 31, 1754, named the new college "King's" after the venerable institution on the banks of the Cam. On August 23, 1756, the corner-stone of the new building was laid by Governor Hardy with appropriate ceremonies. Its site included the whole block now bounded by College Place, Barclay, Church, and Murray streets—a beautiful situation at that time, with its surroundings of groves and green fields, and its fine view of the Hudson.

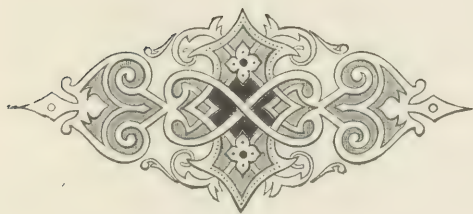


Engr. by Geo. Hayward, 120 Nassau St. N. Y.

Don. C. P. Valentines Manuscript. Jan 1857

KINGS COLLEGE, N.Y.

The first Commencement was held in June, 1758, and the new building was first opened to the students in May, 1760. In 1763 Dr. Johnson resigned, and Dr. Myles Cooper, a fellow of Queens College, Oxford, who had accepted a professorship in the college the preceding year, succeeded to the presidency. During the Revolution the college was dismissed and its building used as a hospital. On its reorganization in 1787, it was given the name Columbia, any thing savoring of royalty being then exceedingly odious to American ears.





XII.

THE PEOPLE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

QUITE a number of distinguished gentlemen accompanied Sir Edmond Andros to New York in 1678. Among them was the Rev. James Wooley, a recent graduate of Cambridge University, who came as chaplain to the king's forces in New York. On returning to England, Mr. Wooley published a little book called, "A Two Years' Journal in New York," which was eagerly read by the public of that day, curious to know something of the Duke's new possessions. We transcribe from this book some pleasant descriptions of the city and its domestic life in 1678-80, preserving the quaint English in which they were written.

"The country," he says, "is of a sweet and wholesome breath, free from those annoyances which are commonly ascribed by naturalists for the insalubrity of any country, viz., south or southeast winds, stagnant waters, lowness of shoals, inconstancy of weather, and the excessive heat of the summer ; it is gently refreshed, fanned, and allayed by constant breezes from the sea. It does not welcome guests and strangers with the seasoning distempers of fevers and fluxes, like Virginia, Maryland, and other plantations. Nature kindly drains and purgeth it by



THE LOWER MARKET IN 1746.



fontanels and issues of running waters in its irriguous valleys, and shelters it with the umbrellas of all sorts of trees from pernicious lakes, which trees and plants do undoubtedly, tho' insensibly, suck in and digest into their own growth and composition those subterranean particles and exhalations which otherwise would be attracted by the heat of the sun, and so become matter for infections, clouds, and malign atmospheres. . . . I myself, a person seemingly of a weakly stamen, and a valetudinary constitution, was not in the least indisposed in that climate during my residence there the space of three years."

The people he found very hospitable, though "a clan of high-flown religionists." The two clergymen—the Lutheran and the Dutch Reformed—he criticised as severely as the Labadists did him.

"They behaved themselves one toward another so shily and uncharitably, as if Luther and Calvin had bequeathed and entailed their virulent and bigoted spirits upon them and their heirs forever. They had not visited or spoken to each other with any respect for six years together before my being there, with whom I being much acquainted, I invited them both, with their vrows, to a supper one night unknown to each other, with an obligation that they should not speak one word in Dutch, under the penalty of a bottle of Madeira, alleging I was so imperfect in that language that we could not manage a sociable discourse. So accordingly they came, and at the first interview they stood so appalled, as if the ghosts of Luther and Calvin had suffered a transmigration, but the amaze soon went off with a *salve tu quoque* and a bottle of wine, of which the Calvinist dominie was a true carouser, and so we continued our mensalia the whole evening in

Latin, which they both spoke so fluently and promptly that I blushed at myself, with a passionate regret, that I could not keep pace with them. "The inhabitants," he continues, "both English and Dutch, were very civil, amongst whom I have often wished myself and family, to whose tables I was frequently invited, and always concluded with a generous bottle of Madeira."

And he has this account of one of the amusements of the day:

"We had very good diversion in an orchard of Mr. John Robinson, of New York, where we followed a bear from tree to tree, upon which he could swarm like a cat, and when he was got to his resting-place, perched upon a high branch, we despatched a youth after him with a club to an opposite bough, who, knocking his paws, he comes grumbling down backwards with a thump, so we after him again."

It seems scarcely credible that only two hundred years ago, between Cedar Street and Maiden Lane, men took bears by shaking them, like fruit, from the orchard trees.

Every New Year's Day, our author goes on to say, the English observed "a neighborly commerce of presents." Some sent him "a sugar loaf," some "a pair of gloves," some "a bottle or two of wine." One day he saw two "Dutch boors" grappling each other under his windows.

"I called up an acquaintance and asked him to fetch a kit full of water and discharge it at them, which immersion cooled their courage and loosed their grapples. So," he adds, "we used to part our mastiffs

in England. The city of New York," he goes on to say, "in my time was as large as some market towns with us, and all built the London way : the garri-son side of a high situation and a pleasant prospect ; the island it stands on all a level and champain. The diversion, especially in the winter season, used by the Dutch, is aurigation, *i. e.*, riding about in wagons. . . . And, upon the ice it is admirable to see men and women as it were flying upon their skates from place to place with markets upon their heads and backs."

Some values given in this book will be of interest to readers of to-day.

"Wampum," he says, "is more prized than gold and silver. Beaver skins are also a circulating medium. Good, merchantable beaver is worth 10s. 3d. per pound ; minks, 5s. ; grey foxes, 3s. ; otters, 8s. ; raccoons, 1s. 5d. ; deer skins, 6d. ; bear skin, 7s. ; black otter, 20s. ; fishers, 3s. ; wolf skin, 3s. ; Barbadoes rum, 10d. per gallon ; molasses, 50s. per barrel ; sugar, 12s. per 100 pounds ; 'new negroes,' *i. e.*, those just imported, £12 or £14 ; if they can speak English, £16 or £17, and at New York £35 to £40 (whereupon," he says, "let me observe, the Indians look on these negroes or blacks as an anomalous issue, mere Edomites, hewers of wood and drawers of water) ; Long Island wheat, 3s. a skipple (a third of a bushel) ; Sopus wheat, one half a crown ; Indian meal, 15s. per 100 pounds ; bread, 18s. per 100 pounds ; pork, £3 per barrel of 240 pounds ; beef, 30s. per barrel ; butter, 6d. per pound ; tobacco, 2½d. per pound. The best liquors," he observes, "are Fiall (Fayal), Passado, and Madeira wines, at 2s. per bottle ; the best ale is of wheat malt from Sopus, about sixty miles from New York by water. Syder is 12s. per

barrel ; for quaffing liquors, rum punch, and brandy punch, not compounded and adulterated as in England, but pure water and pure nants."

When our author returned home he took with him as mementoes of the country, "a gray squirrel, a parrott, and a raccoon." While Mr. Wooley was preaching in New York, two young travellers from Germany, in queer scollop hats and long cloaks, came to the city—members of a sect of German pietists, called the Labadists, deputed by their co-religionists to seek a location in this country for a community. These men had sharp eyes, and went prying all about the colony, picturing the things they saw with both pen and pencil. Among other things, they heard Mr. Wooley preach at the fort, and were no better pleased with him than he was with the Dutch domines.

"After the prayers and ceremonies," they wrote, "a young man went into the pulpit, who thought he was performing wonders ; he had a little book in his hand, out of which he read his sermon, which was about a quarter of an hour long. With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished."

The Labadists spent some time in New York with kind friends, who regaled them on "milk and peaches, fish and fruit." One day, they called on Jean Vigne, the ancient miller, who was the first male child born of European parents in New York. On September 29, 1679, they set out for a journey through Long Island. Crossing the ferry, they went

up a hill, "along open roads and woody places, and through a village called Breucklen, which has a small ugly church standing in the middle of the road." At the farm-house of Simon de Hart, where they spent the night, they had for supper, a roasted haunch of venison, a goose, a wild turkey, and oysters, both raw and roasted; and sat up with their host late into the night, before a hickory fire that roared half-way up the chimney. They visited New Utrecht, and were entertained by Jacques Cortelyou, who lived in a large stone house, one of several in the village, and was a doctor of medicine, a land surveyor, and mathematician. Owing to sickness in his family, they were obliged to sleep in the barn, which they did on straw spread with sheepskins, "in the midst of the continual grunting of hogs, squealing of pigs, bleating and coughing of sheep, barking of dogs, crowing of cocks, and cackling of hens." Afterward they returned slowly to New York, noting the Indian villages, the wild grapes, peach orchards, and fields of watermelons by the way, and finished their travels by a journey up the Hudson and through New Jersey.

From the statements of these travellers it would appear that at that time a primitive state of affairs existed. But with the advent of the English the order of society gradually changed. Dutch social life was democratic in tone, simple, domestic, unostentatious. The English social structure, however, was founded on caste. There was a lower, middle, and upper class, each with separating walls so strong that few could break them down. Some of the

wealthier Dutch families held strictly aloof from the strangers, and formed a distinct class, but the majority met the English officers and attachés in polite entertainments, and came soon to adopt the ideas of the courtly strangers as to social strata and etiquette; so that in a few years, among both the English, French, and Dutch—the three ruling social elements,—there came to be an aristocracy and classes. London fashions soon became popular, although, as William Smith, a resident historian, observed, “by the time we adopt them they become disused in England.” London teachers, tailors, peruke makers, tradesmen, came over in numbers, and an increased display and elegance in dress, equipage, furniture, and dwellings was the result. This display and extravagance probably reached its height between 1700–1705, when the ventures of the privateers and Red Sea men had flooded the city with Arabian gold and East India goods.

Broadway on a Sabbath morning, as the bells were ringing for church, must then have presented an animated and even brilliant spectacle, far exceeding that which modern beaux and belles present, for although on Fifth Avenue, of a Sunday after service, the ladies give us here and there a touch of color, the men are sober-suited as monks: in those days, however, both ladies and gentlemen shone rich as emperor moths. These worshippers, whom we imagine ourselves as watching, come in groups moving down the wide, shaded streets, some entering Trinity, others turning down into Garden Street, and passing into the new Dutch Church on that thoroughfare.



Arch. Geo. B. Valentine's Memoirs for 1829

By Geo. Haysworth, 1841

TRINITY CHURCH AS ENLARGED.
1737

Both places of worship are equally fashionable : The Dutch Church is the wealthier, but then Trinity has the governor's pew, and the prestige that comes of state patronage and emolument. Let us describe, as showing the fashions of the day, the dress of this group of five bearing down abreast of the churchyard. They are Nicholas Bayard and Madam Bayard, William Merritt, Alderman, and Madam Merritt, and Isaac De Riemer, Mayor. Bayard, who has been Secretary of the province, Major and Colonel of the city militia, wears a cinnamon-colored cloth coat with skirts reaching quite to the knee, embroidered four or five inches deep with silver lace, and lined with sky-blue silk ; his waistcoat is of red satin woven in with gold ; his breeches, of the same color and material as his coat are trimmed with silver at the pockets and knees ; dove-colored stockings of silk, and low shoes adorned with large silver buckles, cover his nether extremities. His hat, of black felt, has a wide flapping brim, and is adorned with a band of gold lace. His " full bottomed " wig is plentifully powdered with starch finely ground and sifted, to which burnt alabaster or whiting has been added to give it body, and is scented with ambergris. A " steinkirk " of fine muslin encircles his neck, the ends of which are laced and tucked into his expansive shirt bosom : the latter is of fine Holland adorned with colebatteen ruffles, the waistcoat being left open the better to display them. His gloved hands hold an ivory snuff-box, having an invisible hinge and a looking-glass in the lid, and well filled with sweet-scented snuff. After taking a dainty sniff at the snuff he

applies to his nose a handkerchief of silk ornamented with the arms of Britain ; printed on its folds are the ensigns and standards captured from the French. He pulls out his watch to note the time, and we find that it is enclosed in a beautiful shagreen case studded with gold, and has his seal and a large silver key attached to it by a wide silk ribbon. He carries a cane, too, with a gold head elegantly engraved in cypher and crown, but the diamond-hilted sword with its gay sword knot, then an almost indispensable adjunct to a gentleman's dress, in deference to the day has been left behind. The two other gentlemen are dressed much in the same style, except that there is a pleasing variety in style and color. Merritt, for instance, wears a salmon-colored silk drugged coat, with silver brocade waistcoat and small-clothes while De Riemer has a sagathie cloth coat, with waistcoat and breeches of *drap du Barre*.

But if the gentlemen are thus brilliant, what is to be said of the ladies, who are apt to lead the sterner sex in matters of personal adornment. Instead of a bonnet, Madam Bayard wears a "frontage,"—a sort of head-dress formed of rows of plaited muslin, stiffened with wire, one above the other, and diminishing in size as they rise. She, too, wears the "steinkirk," or neck-cloth. The bodice of her purple-and-gold atlas gown is laced over very tight stays, and the gown itself is open in front to display the black-velvet petticoat edged with two silver orrices and high enough to show the green-silk stockings and beautifully embroidered shoes of fine Morocco with red clocks. Her coiffure is also powdered ; her complexion has



been "aided" with French red and pearl powder, and she is perfumed with rose-water and *Eau de Carne*. Some of the ladies moving down the street are even more brilliantly attired. What do you think of this kincob, Isabella-colored gown, flowered with green and gold over a scarlet-and-gold atlas petticoat edged with silver, or of this blue-and-gold atlas gown; or of that stately East India princess in purple and gold, or of this pretty little lady in a satin gown over an Alijah petticoat, striped with green, gold, and white? There are some notable people, too, amid the throng. Lord Bellomont, tall and courtly, never losing the royal governor in the man; James De Lancey, later Chief-Justice and Lieutenant-Governor, even now invested with a judicial air; Dr. Samuel Staats, who, after a brief residence in India, has returned with a beautiful Indian "Begum," or princess, for his wife; Frederick Phillipse, Gabriel Minvielle, Thomas Willett, Richard Townley, and John Lawrence, king's councillors; James Graham and James Emott, eminent lawyers; Abraham Gouverneur, George Heathcote, Johannes and Abraham De Peyster, and other famous men of that day.

The period preceding the Revolution—from 1740 to 1770—was perhaps the most picturesque and interesting in the city's history. New York was then a British town, a London in miniature, yet much more cosmopolitan than London, for among her inhabitants were numbered every race, class, sect, and condition—except the Catholic. It was an offence punishable with life imprisonment for a Jesuit priest to enter New York at this time.



Let us view the city as it appears about this time, 1730-65. Along the East River shore, at the former date, it was laid out as far north as the present Catherine Street. West of Broadway cross streets had been opened as far north as the present Chambers Street. Along the line of the latter was a wall of stout palisades defended by block-houses at intervals, extending across the island as a defence against the French and Indians. An old print of Fulton Ferry in 1746 (see illustration), shows the quaint Dutch ferry-house on the New York side, and wide fields and clusters of cottages on the Brooklyn shore, but no city. By 1763, as appears by Maerfchalckm's map of that date (see illustration), the city had crept north as far as Warren Street on the west and Chatham on the east, while a village plot had been laid out on the west of the "High Road to Boston," the present Bowery. The Collect and the marshes in its vicinity (now Canal Street and adjacent blocks) were then in their primitive state. A distant view of the city from the high land on the north, about 1760, shows how little of the island was then built upon. In the view from the harbor, however, the city appears as a considerable town.

Most of the streets are paved, and lighted by lanterns suspended from every seventh house. There is a rattle watch that patrols the city at night, and a fire company, of "four and twenty able-bodied men and, two fire-engines of Mr. Newsham's patent," recently imported from London.

We will begin our walk this time with the fort on

the Battery—Fort George,—so called because of the pleasant custom the people have of naming their fort after the reigning sovereign. As in the old Dutch time, the fort is the capitol, the seat of government. The governor still lives within. The colonial records are kept here ; it is the scene of all military displays and social festivities on fête days. A royal governor, in the palmy days of the colony, lived in considerable state, maintained a chaplain and secretary, besides aides in brilliant uniform, and servants in livery, and when he appeared in public, rode in a coach-and-four with coachman and footmen, and his arms emblazoned on the panels. He had to garrison the fort and maintain his authority two lieutenants at four shillings per day, one ensign at three shillings, three sergeants at one shilling and sixpence, two drummers at one shilling, a master gunner, one hundred privates at eight pence, four “mattresses” at one shilling, a “chirurgion” at two shillings, a store-keeper at two shillings, and a chaplain at six shillings. The governor, as commander-in-chief, received the munificent salary of eight shillings per day, although, of course, there were perquisites. The governor’s residence, known as the “Government House,” was also the social centre. There were “high doings” there, often, in those far-off days of the colony. No fête day—whether of the coming of an heir to the throne, or the birthday anniversary of the king, queen, or Prince of Wales, or the advent of a new governor, or the anniversary of a national event—could be observed without the holding of a grand ball in the Govern-



THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE ON THE SITE OF THE OLD FORT, FRONTING THE HOWLING GREEN, BUILT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S HOME IN 1790.

This edifice, originally designed for the residence of President Washington, was unfinished when the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia. It was afterwards the residence of New York's governors, George Clinton and John Jay. From 1799 to 1815 it was used for a Custom House, after which it was taken down.



ment House, at which the beauty and the chivalry of the town were gathered. Thus we read that on October 30, 1734, on the anniversary of his Majesty's birthday, "in the evening the whole city was illuminated. His Excellency and Lady gave a splendid ball and supper at the Fort, where was the most numerous and fine appearance of Ladies and Gentlemen that had ever been known upon the like occasion." And on January 21st, of the same year, being the anniversary of the birthday of His Royal Highness, Frederic, Prince of Wales: "In the evening there was a splendid and numerous appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies at the Fort, where they were received by His Excellency and Lady, and the Honorable Family. The night concluded with a splendid supper and ball, which lasted till four o'clock in the morning."

Imposing ceremonies often preceded the ball, as on the anniversary of the king's birthday in 1734.

"Between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon His Excellency, our Governor, was attended at his House in Fort George by the Council, Assembly, Merchants, and other Principal Gentlemen and Inhabitants of this and adjacent places. The Independent Companies posted here being under Arms, and the Cannon round the Ramparts firing while His Majesty's, the Queen's, the Prince's, and the Royal Families', and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange's Healths were drunk, and then followed the Healths of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, of the Duke of Grafton, of the Right Honorable Sir Robert Walpole, and many other Royal Healths."



And on the anniversary of the Coronation, June 11, 1734:

“At twelve at noon the Gentlemen of the Council, Assembly, and the City waited upon His Excellency, the Governor, at the Fort, where their Majesties', the Royal Family's, and the Prince and Princess of Orange's Healths were drunk under the discharge of the Cannon, the regular troops in their new clothing all the while standing under arms, who made a fine appearance. Afterwards His Excellency, attended by the Gentlemen of the Council, etc., went into the Field, and received the Militia of the City drawn up there, and expressed great satisfaction at their order, discipline, and appearance, and was pleased to order twelve barrels of beer to be distributed among them to drink their Majesties' and the Royal Healths.”

One can imagine much more than the staid old chronicler describes. The long procession of gentlemen, splendidly attired, with the city fathers in their silken robes of office at their head; the stately governor in full uniform, perhaps with the orders of chivalry blazing on his breast; the grave courtesies and interchange of stately compliment as the wine goes round; the thunder of the cannon; and in the afternoon the streets filled with citizens in gala dress, and the parade of the militia. In the evening at the governor's house, which is aglow with light, the scene is still more brilliant, for there ladies and gentlemen, clothed like Solomon in his glory, float up and down the long ball-room, balance, turn, lead down the middle, cast off, to the music of the contra



THE OLD JOSEPHSON

NEW YORK CITY



Engr. by Hayward, 120 Water S. N. Y.

Printed by Valentines, Cornhill, Boston.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NEW-YORK 1865.

dance, or La Belle Kathrine. The coming of a new Governor to the province—which, as we have seen, was pretty often—was also a great occasion. When Governor William Cosby arrived, for instance, in July, 1732, he landed

“about ten o’clock in the evening, and was received at the Water side by several Gentlemen, who attended him to the Fort. The next day, between the Hours of eleven and twelve, His Excellency walked to the City Hall (a Company of Halberdiers and a Troop of Horse marching before, and the Gentlemen of His Majesty’s Council, the Corporation, and a great number of Gentlemen and merchants of this city following, the streets being lined on each side with the Militia), where his Commission was published, and then His Excellency returned, attended, as before, back to the Fort. The Militia then drew up upon the Parade, and saluted him with three vollies.”

A pleasant little episode occurred at the Government House while Sir William Cosby occupied it, although the dry old chronicler from whom we have quoted nowhere refers to it. The Governor was blessed with two fair daughters, in whom wit and beauty combined to render them the belles of the city. The younger had left a lover in England, no less a personage than Lord Augustus Fitz Roy, son of the famous Charles, Duke of Grafton. According to the English social code the match was beneath the lover and could not be allowed. It is even hinted that Sir William was given the governorship in order to separate the young people and cure the future duke of his infatuation. If so, the scheme signally failed, for the lover followed his

mistress to New York, and during his visit the pair were secretly married, it is said, through the connivance of Madam Cosby, the Governor's lady. One night the English chaplain, Domine Campbell, was assisted to scale the rear wall of the fort, and in the chapel married the lovers secretly and without a license. To avert suspicion from Governor Cosby, the clergyman was prosecuted for the offence, but it was observed by the gossips that no serious punishment followed. Under date of August 12th, our chronicler gives the denouement of the affair: "On Saturday morning sailed from hence Captain Stephens, for London, having on board my Lord Augustus and his Lady, Governor Cosby's daughter."

The next winter a second wedding occurred at the Government House, Miss Grace Cosby being married to Mr. Thomas Freeman, of London. It would seem that there were astute politicians at the City Hall at that time, for, three days after, the Common Council and other officials waited upon the Governor, and the Recorder in a neat speech informed them that the Corporation, desirous of proving the deference they entertained for the Governor and his noble family, had ordered that the Honorable Major Alexander Cosby, brother to his Excellency, recently arrived, and Thomas Freeman, the Governor's son-in-law, be presented with the freedom of the city in gold boxes. The boxes were, however, of silver, gilded, as is proved by this entry in the council minutes of March 15, 1733-4: "Ordered the Mayor issue his warrant . . . to pay to Mr. Charles Le Roux, Goldsmith, or order, the sum of seven pounds,



NEW-YEAR'S HYMN TO ST. NICHOLAS.

one shilling, eleven pence half penny . . . for two silver Guilt Boxes for the Freedoms of the Honorable Major Alexander Cosby and Thomas Freeman, Esq."

Lady readers are no doubt curious to know just how the governor's mansion was furnished. Of its furniture in the time of Governor John Montgomery, Cosby's immediate predecessor, we have an official description, Governor Montgomery having died in 1730, and an inventory of his effects having been taken. It was as follows:

A bed with China curtains	\$7 50
Twelve leather chairs	18 00
Two dozen ivory-handled knives and forks	4 00
Four pair crimson barreline window curtains	15 00
Six yellow chairs	
Five pair yellow camlet curtains	20 00
A large looking-glass with gilt frame	20 00
Cloth housing with silver lace	13 00
A fine yellow camlet bed	75 00
Water and champagne glasses	
A very large quantity of wine and different sorts of liquor in the cellar	2,500 00

and silverware, comprising candlesticks, coffee-pots, knives and forks, spoons, salvers, tea-trays, casters, etc., to a large amount. He had also one saddle horse, eight coach horses, two common horses, two breeding mares, two colts, a natural pacing mare, a four-wheeled chaise and harness, a servant's saddle, a coach with set of fine harness, two sets of travelling harness, brass-mounted, with postilion's coat and cap; saddles with holsters, caps, and housings; a fine suit of embroidered horse furniture with bridles, etc. The inventory continues:

A negro musician	\$225 00
A negro boy	115 00
Two negro boys	250 00
A mulatto woman	100 00
Negro woman called Betty	150 00
Negro woman called Jenny	80 00
Negro woman	90 00
Three white servants apprenticed	
Six new black cotton chairs, \$5 each	30 00
Japanned tea-table	
Complete set of China ware	15 00
A repeating table clock	40 00
A pair of gilded frame sconces	
A large chimney glass	
Twelve new-fashioned matted chairs	24 00
A walnut card-table	
A pair of large sconces with gilt frames	45 00
Walnut-framed sconces and branches	45 00
An eight-day clock	40 00
Japanned fruit-plates, cut-glass cruets	
Gold lace and gold buttons	50 00
Gilt leather screen	15 00
Pictures of Greenwich Park, \$1.18 ; of a vineyard, \$2.00 ; of goats, \$1.50 ; a landscape, \$1.30 ; sheep-shearing, \$1.40 ; a winter piece, 70 cts. ; a parrot cage, and " Tycken " umbrella.	
A barge with accoutrements	125 00
A small four-oared boat	
A library	1,000 00

The governor's wardrobe comprised " cambric shirts ruffled," dimity vests, silk stockings, a scarlet cloak, a laced hat, a scarlet coat and breeches with gold lace, a cloth suit with open silver lace, silk stockings with embroidered clocks, gold-headed cane, " bob-tail " wig, periwig, and other articles.

On the very spot now occupied by the Sub-Treasury, with its grand statue of Washington looking



calmly on the hurrying crowds, stood at the period we are describing the second City Hall, known after Washington's inauguration as Federal Hall. The city had built it in 1700 at a cost of £3,000, the old City Hall, or Stadt Huys, built by Kieft, having been sold for £920, and partly defraying the cost. Here the Common Council and the Provincial Assembly held their sessions, and the Supreme Court and the Mayor's and Admiralty Courts met. It was also the City Prison, and was trebly honored in later years as the place where the first Congress of the United States held its first session, and where its first President took the oath of office. It was notable in old colony times as the rostrum where the royal governors published their commissions. It was also a central figure in the inauguration of a new Mayor, as is shown by the following extract from the journal of Mayor Thomas Noell, who took the oath in 1701 :

"On Tuesday, the 14th day of October, 1701, I was commissioned and sworn Mayor of the City of New York before the Honorable John Nanfan, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of this Province and Council in his Majesty's, Fort William Henry, and from thence, according to the usual solemnity, I went to Trinity Church, where was a sermon preached by Mr. Vesey, which, ended, I went to the City Hall, attended by the Recorder, Aldermen, and assistants, and other officers, where, after the ringing of three bells, I published my Commission, and then went up into the Court-house and took the chair, where Isaac De Riemer, Esq., the late Mayor, delivered to me the charter and seals of this city."



THE CITY HALL IN WALL STREET, AS ENLARGED FOR THE CAPITOL.



John W. Thompson, Engraver, New York

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In the City Hall, too, visitors of distinction were usually received, and sometimes granted the freedom of the city. Thus when, in 1732, the Lord Augustus Fitz Roy arrived in pursuit of his bride, the mayor, aldermen, and assistants waited on his lordship

“in a full body, attended by the principal officers of the City Regiment ; and being introduced to his Lordship in the Council Chamber, the Recorder addressed himself to him in the name of the Corporation, congratulating his Lordship on his safe arrival, and returning the thanks of the City for the Honor they received by his Lordship’s presence, as also for his Lordship’s condescension in being pleased to become a member thereof. Then the Worshipful, the Mayor, presented his Lordship with the Copy of his Freedom, to which was annexed the City Seal enclosed in a curious Gold Box, with the Arms of the City thereon neatly engraved ; which his Lordship was pleased to receive with the greatest Goodness and Complaisance, and likewise to assure the Corporation that he should always entertain the kindest sentiments of this Expression of their Regard and Esteem for him.”

This “gold box” was made by Mr. Charles Le Roux, the Tiffany of those days. Fortunately we have in the council records his bill for it as follows :

1732. The Corporation of New York, *Dr.*

		£.	s.	d.
Oct 20.	To 1 oz. 12 pwt. gold to one Box	.	.	10 8 0
	To fashione and engraving the Box	.	.	4 0 0
				<hr/>
				14 8 0

To Mr. Charles Le Roux.

At this early day the corporation evinced an aldermanic fondness for good dinners. Every great

event and fête day, as we have seen, was celebrated by a grand dinner given by the corporation, to which the governor and principal inhabitants were invited. One day, mousing over some musty old records, we had the good fortune to find the bill of the caterer for one of these banquets—that given in 1704 in honor of Lord Cornbury's advent as Governor. We present it as an historical curiosity :

1704. The Mayor, Aldermen, &c., *Dr.*

		£.	s.	d.
Dec. 19.	To a piece of beef and cabbage	0	7	6
	To a dish of tripe and cow-heel	0	6	0
	To a leg of pork and turnips	0	8	3
	To 2 puddings	0	14	6
	To a surloyn of beef	0	13	6
	To a turkey and onions	0	9	0
	To a leg mutton and pickles	0	6	0
	To a dish chickens	0	10	6
	To minced pyes	1	4	0
	To fruit, cheese, bread, &c.	0	7	6
	To butter for sauce	0	7	9
	To hire of 2 negroes to assist	0	6	0
	To dressing dinner, &c.	1	4	0
	To 31 bottles wine	3	2	0
	To beer and syder	0	12	0
				<hr/>
				10 18 6

It would seem that the dinner was a part of the anniversary celebrations also, for in the records of the Common Council of Dec. 21, 1717, we have this entry: "Ordered, the Mayor issue his warrant to the Treasurer to pay to Mr. John Parminter or order, the sum of five pounds, seventeen shillings, and three pence, current money of New York, it being for expenses of this corporation at his house on the 20th

day of October last, being the anniversary of his Majesty's Coronation." The bill was as follows:

1717. Corporation of New York, *Dr.*

		To John Parmynter.		
October 20th,	{ To 37 bottles of wine	£3	14	0
	{ To beer and cyder	0	5	3
	{ To eating	1	12	0
	{ To dressing supper	0	6	0
		<hr/> £5 17 3		

Turning eastward from the City Hall, a few steps down Wall Street bring us to the water-front, then, as now, the most interesting portion of the city. Make the tour of the city docks to-day, and you will have studied the products of the known world, heard the tones of every civilized tongue, learned the cut of every civilized jib. They were quite as interesting in colonial times. Throughout that period, the privateers, and their next of kin, the pirates, furnished the romance and interest. The privateersmen were a brave and gallant class, and formed an effective arm of the colonial naval service. Their vessels were generally small, swift, graceful craft, well armed and well manned, and pounced on the unprotected French merchantmen like falcon on the dove. Privateersmen were fond of giving their vessels high-sounding or sentimental names. There were the *Sea Flower*, the *Dragon*, the *Castor and Pollux*, the *Sturdy Beggar*, the *Charming Peggy*, the *Bachelors*, the *Dolphin*, the *Brave Hawk*, the *Charming Polly*, the *Rainbow*, the *Speedwell*, the *Dreadnaught*, the *Hornet*, the *Decoy*, the *Tyger*, the *Royal Hunter*, the

King William III., the *Duke of Marlborough*, the *Charming Sally*, the *Hope*, the *Wheel of Fortune*, the *Flying Harlequin*, the *Little Bob*, the *Revolution*, the *Two Friends*, the *True Briton*, the *Tartar*, the *Charming Fanny*, the *Happy Return*, the *Irish Gimblet*, the *Royal American*, the *Lovely Martha*, the *Terrible*, the *Nebuchadnezzar*, the *Fame*, the *Lively*, the *Impertinent*, the *Tory's Revenge*, the *Musquito*, the *Eagle*, the *Surprise*, the *Spitfire*, the *Experiment*, the *Golden Pippin*, the *Norfolk Revenge*, the *Game Cock*, the *Try-All*, the *Favorite Betsey*, the *Hook-Him-Snivey*, the *Who'd-have-Thought-it*, and others equally *outré*. Their number was large. A list from 1704 to 1763 enumerates one hundred and eighty-five, with guns ranging from six to twenty-six each. A letter written at New York Jan. 5, 1757, to a merchant in London, says: "There are now thirty Privateers out of this Place, and ten more on the Stocks and launched." And in the *London Magazine* of September, 1757, we have a list of privateers fitted out at New York "since the beginning of the war" (old French and Indian war, 1755-63), which gives 39 vessels, 128 guns, and 1,050 men. Their gains were often enormous. The letter from New York above quoted, says that up to that time (1757) the privateers had brought in fourteen prizes, valued in the aggregate at £100,000. From the beginning of the war in 1755 to Jan. 9, 1758, fifty-nine prizes were sent into the port of New York by these vessels, together with twenty-six condemned in other ports. As we come out on the "New Dock" we see a long-roofed, low-porched tavern—that of Capt. Benjamin Kierstede—



a favorite resort of the privateersmen of the day.
We enter and find half a score of old sea-dogs—

“ Salt as the sea wind, tough and dried
As a lean cusk from Labrador,”—

sitting around the box stove spinning yarns after the manner of sailor men. It will be interesting to put on record some of their accounts of their exploits, as their truth can be proven by letters and documents. There was the French ship *La Pomme*, of 180 tons burden, 14 carriage guns, 43 men, and a commission from the Duc de Penhievre, Admiral of France, from St. Marks, Hispaniola, bound to Rochelle, France, taken by the privateer brig *Clinton*, of New York, about fifteen leagues north of Cape Nicola without the loss of a man. Her cargo invoiced 88 casks sugar, 237 casks indigo of 87,500 cwt., and 15 bales of cotton; valued at £40,000. Every man of the *Clinton* received £160 prize-money—the result of a six weeks' cruise. Captain Bevan, of the *Clinton*, seems to have done the handsome thing by his crew, for we read that he gave them a hogshead of punch and an ox roasted whole in the fields. Then there was the Spanish ship that the *William* and the *Greyhound* took in concert,—cleared £90 per man; the *Rising Sun*, of Marseilles, taken by the *Prince Charles*, with 1,117 hogsheads of sugar, 458 casks of coffee, cash, and “small plunder” worth £1,000; the *St. Joseph* taken by the brig *William*, with 614 hogsheads of sugar and 200 bags and 20 casks of coffee; the *Le Boice* taken by the brig *Triton*, with 20 tuns of wine and 15 tons of flour, besides soap,

candles, and dry goods. Captain Troup, of the brig *Hester*, was chief of the privateersmen. He was roving about in West India waters, in the spring of 1747, when he overhauled a Danish craft. We were then at peace with Denmark, but something prompted him to board the stranger, on whom he found a Spanish merchant bound to Cordova, with several strong boxes in his keeping. These he seized and, on opening them, found 8,000 pieces of eight. Captain Troup made sure of the gold, but he paid the Danish captain the freight agreed on by the merchant for carrying the specie. No wonder when riches were thus easily won that Governor Hamilton, of New Jersey, should complain that the privateersmen were sweeping into their ranks the flower of the youth of his province. Not all the prizes were taken so easily, however. Conflicts, often against fearful odds, were frequent, and hand-to-hand fights in which prodigies of valor were performed. We instance the case of the privateer *Dragon* and the brig *Greyhound*, which, in 1746, were cruising in the Bay of Mexico, having with them the sloop *Grand Diable*, which they had captured a few days before. On the 2d of May, they fell in with a Spanish frigate of 36 guns and 300 men,

“with whom,” says the old chronicler, “they all engaged for the greatest part of two days ; but were at last obliged to leave her, after expending most of their ammunition. They did all that was possible for men to do with a superior force, and left her a perfect wreck, but were not in a better condition themselves, having almost all their masts so much wounded that they every moment

apprehended their going overboard, and, after fishing them, were obliged to make the best of their way home. . . . Of the enemy they saw many fall, and their colors were three times shot away, but always hoisted again immediately."

Not all the voyages were prosperous. Thus we read: "The privateer ship *Lincoln*, Captain John Jauncey, of New York, was lost on the Spanish coast, December 11, 1745. She sunk while the crew were 'putting the vessel on the careen.'"

We will set out now for a desultory stroll about the city; and first, let us visit the shopping centre, which we shall find in Pearl Street, and in the short streets leading from Broadway to the water front. The stores are plain and unpretentious. Many occupy the first floors of the dwelling-houses. They have all sorts of wares for sale, like modern country stores,—dry goods, wet goods, hardware,—all under the same roof. At present Mr. Adolph Phillipse is the leading merchant in New York. He is a man of great wealth, with a town-house and manor at Phillipseborough, has been King's Councillor, Master in Chancery, Judge, and Speaker of the Assembly, and although a bachelor is a favorite with the ladies. Mr. Phillipse is an importer, and has also a wholesale and retail department. His store is a brick building, three stories high. On the first floor is the wholesale department, filled at this moment with country merchants in broad-brimmed hats and homespun clothes, inspecting, weighing, tasting, and purchasing. On this floor is also kept the great chest, in which, in the absence of banks, are stored the money,

wampum, pearls, silver-ware, and jewelry of the establishment. On the floor above, dry goods, wet goods, and hardware, for retail, are kept. It is filled with fair shoppers as we enter, and the clerks are busy indeed, hearing and answering requests in three languages—English, Dutch, and French,—the three tongues being in common use in New York at this time. The shoppers are buying white Paduasoy at \$1.87 per yard, of our money; taffety at 87 cents, silk tabby at 63 cents, widows' crape at 50 cents, brocaded lutestring at \$1.12, and "hoop petticoats" of five rows at \$1.25, of six rows at \$1.56; whale-bone hoop petticoats are worth \$3.75; India brocade is \$1.00 per yard; flowered Spanish silk, 75 cents; scarlet stockings, 75 cents; black-silk do., \$1.50; India dimity, 63 cents per yard; men's velvet, \$3.00 per yard; cherry derry, 33 cents, and so on through a long line of rich East India stuffs—chilloes, betelees, seersuckers, deribands, tapsiels, surbettees, sannoes, gilongs, mulmuls, cushlashes, and other fabrics that the shoppers of that day had at their tongue's end.

"Sedan chairs" are a favorite means of locomotion. Fine ladies drive up in their carriages, with negro coachmen and footmen. One, just alighting as we pass out, is Mrs. Dr. De Lange, wife of the leading physician, and reputed one of the handsomest and best-dressed matrons of the city. Poor lady! One hundred and fifty years after she was dust, and when her gowns had been packed away in camphor and lavender as precious heirlooms, we came upon the inventory of her wardrobe, from

which we take this tale of her jewels, which were contained in a "silver, thread-wrought small trunk," worth three pounds:

"One pair black pendants, with gold hooks, valued at 10s. ; one gold boat, wherein were thirteen diamonds to one white coral chain, £16 ; one pair gold 'stucks,' or pendants, in each ten diamonds, £25 ; one gold ring, with a clasp back, worth 12s. ; one gold ring, or 'hoop,' bound round with diamonds, £2 10s."

Dr. De Lange's arms, we find, comprised a sword, with silver handle, valued at £2 2s. ; another, with an iron handle, two cutlers' edges, a carbine, a pistol, and two "keanes," one with silver "knot," or head, and one with ivory.

But let us continue our walk. Down Pearl Street we go, flourishing our ivory-headed "keanes," after the manner of men about town. The first thing noticeable here is the great number of markets—long, low, open buildings, roofed with tiles. There is one at the foot of Broad Street, another at Coenties Slip, a third at the foot of Wall Street, another at "Burgher's Path," the present Old Slip,—the Fly Market ; another at the foot of Maiden Lane, another at Rodman's Slip, just above. At the foot of every street is a market, while on Broad Street, from Wall to Exchange Place, is a public stand for country wagons, which come in heavily laden with all manner of produce. The markets are well-stocked with beef, pork, mutton, poultry, wild-fowl, venison, fish, roots, and herbs of all kinds in their season. Oysters, too, are a prominent feature ; a fleet of two

hundred sail is constantly employed in catching them on beds within view of the town.

The "Slips," and the side streets leading off from Pearl, are the haunts of many quaint craftsmen. This shop of John Wallace, for instance, "at the Sign of the Cross Swords, next door to Mrs. Byfield, near the Fly Market," who "makes, mends, and grinds all sorts of knives, razors, scissors, and pen-knives."

"Surgeons," he advertises, "may be supplied with very good lancets, and other surgeons' instruments. Gentlemen may be furnished with all sorts of kitchen furniture, that belongs to a smith's trade. Barbers may have their razors ground for four-pence a piece. He puts up and mends all sorts of jacks, and makes multiplying wheels for jacks. He mends locks, and makes keys and stillards also. He also sells all sorts of cutlery ware, and all at reasonable rates."

Right here by the Fly Market, too, at the house of William Bradford, "next door but one to the Treasurer's," is lodged "Moses Slaughter, stay-maker," from London, who has brought with him, as he has been careful to inform the town:

"A parcel of extraordinary good and fashionable stays of his own making, of several sizes and prices. Slaughter is anxious to suit those that want with extraordinary good stays. Or he is ready to wait upon any ladys or gentlewomen that please to send for him to their houses. And if any wish references, he refers to Mrs. Elliston, in the Broad Street, and to Mrs. Nichols, in the Broadway, who have had his work."

Another quaint craftsman has his shop in Old



Engr. by G. Hayward. No. 100, N. Y. St. N. F.

No. 100, N. Y. St. N. F.

FLY MARKET,
from the cor. Front St. and Maiden Lane, N. Y. 1816
 Drawn by J. Ever. S.

Slip—Anthony Lamb, mathematical instrument maker, “at the Sign of the Quadrant and Surveying Compass.” How many of the following list, one is tempted to ask, are now in use by the profession :

“Quadrants, forestaffs, nocturnals, rectifiers, universal scales, gunters, sliding gunters, gauging rods, rulers, wood or brass box compasses for sea use, pocket compasses, surveying compasses, surveying chains, water-levels, senecal quadrants, protractors, parallel rulers, trunk telescopes, walking-stick spy-glasses, universal or equinoctial ring or horizontal brass dials, steel or brass-jointed compasses, drawing pens, three-legged stoves, shipwright’s draught, bows, bevels, squares, walking-sticks, and other small work.”

Here, at the corner house at Old Slip (John Cruger’s), we can secure passage on Mr. Silvanus Seaman’s Staten Island “Passage Boat,” which leaves here each Tuesday and Friday for the island, and “at any other time if passage or freight presents.” Here, “at the northwest corner of the Great Dock, next door to the Sign of the Leopard,” Simon Franks, from London, has a little shop, “where he makes and sells all sorts of perukes, after the best and newest fashion, and cuts and dresses lady’s wigs and towers after a manner performed much better than is pretended to be done by some others.”

In Robert Crommelius’ little shop “near the Meal Market in Wall Street,” one may buy all sorts of “writing paper, superfine Post Paper, ready cut by the half ream, blank books, sail duck, Powder-blue, copper tea kettles and Pye-pans, Ivory combs, sewing and

darning needles, spectacles, all sorts of shot, small bar-lead, sash leads, wine glasses, wafel Irons," etc. At the corner of Beekman's Slip Abraham Bamber sells fine clocks, watches and ear-rings. Another out-of-the-way tradesman is Joseph Seddell, "Pewterer," at the sign of the Platter, at the lower end of Wall Street, near the Meal Market, "in the house where Mr. Joseph Sackett lately lived, where he sells Pewter ware of all sorts, cannons,—six and four pounders, and swivel guns, cannon shot, iron pots and kettles, cart and wagon boxes, backs for chimnies, Fuller plates, pig and bar iron, etc. He will pay you hard money for old bars and pewter." Most gruesome and picturesque of all is the undertaker. In 1740, people were not so finical, and little attempt was made by the tradesman to relieve the ghastliness of death. Coffins, some quite magnificent in silver and lace trimmings stood on end around his wareroom. On a bier in the rear were the Parish Palls, two of them, one of black velvet designed for general use, the other of cloth, with an edging of white silk a foot broad, which could only be used for unmarried men and maidens. Flannel shrouds with gloves, scarfs, hat bands, and other mourning paraphernalia filled shelves ranged around the sides of the room. On the counter, painted a funeral black, was a tray of lacquer-work, holding the shopman's cards, and samples of the "invitations to funerals" it was then customary to send to relatives of the deceased. By these cards the public was informed that the undertaker "hath a velvet pall, a good hears, mourning cloaks, and black hangings for rooms to be let at

reasonable rates. He hath also for sale all sorts of mourning and half mourning, white silk for scarfs and hat bands at funerals, with coffins, shrouds and all sorts of burying cloaths for the dead."

In this connection we will speak of a beautiful custom practised by young maidens of visiting the graves of their deceased companions on each anniversary of death, and strewing them with the flowers of remembrance. Trinity being the English churchyard was the one generally sought. It was much more impressive in that day than now, with its groves of forest giants and numerous sombre yews, "the cheerless, unsocial plant" of the poet.

To this solemn abode of the dead the maidens came, clad in white, and bearing baskets of flowers, and as they performed their pious office they sang pathetic little songs, one of which we reproduce :

" Come with heavy mourning,
And on her grave
Let her have
Sacrifice of sighs and mourning.
Let her have fair flowers enough,
White and purple, green and yellow,
For her that was of maids most true,
For her that was of maids most true."

The street signs please us by their number and variety. Very few of the commonalty can read, and so in place of letters the tradesmen have a distinguishing sign. Three sugar loaves and a tea-canister indicate the shop of a grocer near Coenties Market. Patrick Carryl sells "good raisins of the sun," cheap at the sign of the *Unicorn, and Mortar* in Hanover

Square. The chair-maker on Golden Hill has the sign of the *Chair Wheel*, a vender of clocks the sign of the *Dial*. The Exchange Coffee house and Tavern the sign of the "*King's Arms*." Another tavern sign is the *Scotch Arms*. Thomas Lepper's Ordinary, opposite the Merchants' Coffee-house, has the sign of the *Duke of Cumberland*. He advertises that dinner will be ready at half an hour after one. The Boston Post puts up at Mr. Jonathan Ogden's, the sign of the *Black Horse*, in upper Queen (Pearl) Street. George Burns keeps one of the most popular taverns of the city at the sign of the *Cart and Horse*, and constantly takes in the "Boston, Philadelphia, and New York newspapers." There is a newly-opened tavern at the sign of the *Bunch of Grapes*, near the Widow Rutger's beer-house, going up towards the Cart and Horse. "John Reed, Taylor," is to be found at the sign of the *Blue Ball* in Wall Street. The stables of George Goodwin are at the sign of the Dolphin, facing the Common. Looking glasses are new-silvered, and pictures made and sold at the sign of the *Two Cupids*, near the Old Slip Market, and so on. "Jamaica Pilot Boat," "Rose and Crown," "The Bible," "Fighting Cocks," "Cross Swords," "Platter," "Quadrant and Compass," "Spread Eagle," "White Swan," "The Sun," "The Leopard," "Horse and Manger," are favorite signs.

The coffee-houses on the London plan are favorite resorts for all classes. As one wrote of them about this time: "You have all manner of news there. You have a good fire, which you may sit by



FRONT VIEW OF BURNS' COFFEE-HOUSE, BROADWAY, OPPOSITE THE
BOWLING GREEN, 1760.

as long as you please. You have a dish of coffee. You meet your friends for the transaction of business, and all for a penny if you don't care to spend more." We will enter the Exchange Coffee-house, the principal one in the city. Bare sanded floor, plain pine tables and seats, a roaring fire, a perpetual supply of hot water, and the coffee- and tea-pots set close by to keep warm, comprise the furniture.

Quite a number of gentlemen are present; some drinking at the bar, some exchanging the news, some reading the weekly newspapers. One of the latter looks up with a smile as we enter, and then reads aloud to his companion:

"We hear from Ridgefield, near the county of Westchester, that one William Drinkwater, late an inhabitant there, proving quarrelsome with his neighbors and abusive to his wife, the good women of the place took the matter into consideration, and laid hold of an opportunity to get him tied to a cart, and there with rods belabored him on his back, till, in striving to get away, he pulled one of his arms out of joint, and then they untied him. Mr. Drinkwater complained to sundry magistrates of this usage but all he got by it was to be laughed at, whereupon he removed to New Milford, where, we hear, he proves a good neighbor and a loving husband; a remarkable reformation arising from the justice of the good women."

"Served him right," his friend remarks, and then reads an item that has interested him:

"Last Thursday morning a creature of an uncommon size and shape was observed to break through a window of a store-house of this city, and jump into the street, where was suddenly a number of spectators, who fol-

lowed it till it jumped over several high fences, and at last stuck between two houses, where they shot it. Many had the curiosity to view it, and say it was 7 feet long. Most of them say it is a panther, but whence it came or how it got into the store-house, we are at a loss to know."

The taverns, we notice, are quite numerous and of various grades. Let us stop at the "Black Horse," where the Boston Post, which runs weekly in summer and fortnightly in winter, "puts up." It is a traveller's inn, the favorite of the commonalty, while the "King's Arms" is patronized by the patrician class. As we push open the two-leaved door and enter, a strange and picturesque scene greets us. A huge fire of logs burns in the red-tiled fireplace, the white, sanded floor is stained with splotches of tobacco juice and discarded quids, while an odor of vile tobacco fills the air. Quite a number of the frequenters of the place are present—the smith in his leathern apron, the butcher in his long frock, laborers in soil-stained smocks and homespun breeches, a jockey in cap and feather, farmers in camlet coats and sheepskin breeches—all leisurely draining from long pewter mugs their mid-day dram of Sopus ale. One of "His Majesty's players" is singing a "catch" as we enter, and we stop to listen :

" Under the trees in sunny weather,
Just try a cup of ale together.
And if in tempest or in storm
A couple then to make you warm,
But when the day is very cold
Then taste a mug of twelve months' old "—



Engraved by J. H. P. 1810.

KING'S ARMS TAVERN,
now known as Atlantic Garden, Broadway.

Engraved by J. H. P. 1810.

which sentiment is heartily applauded. There are a number of placards on the walls—a schedule of ferry charges and regulations, notices of auction sales, fairs, horse races, and among them a paper that interests us very much. It is entitled “The Several Stages from the City of New York to Boston, and where Travellers may be Accommodated.”

“From New York to Boston,” we read, “is accounted 274 miles. From the Post Office in New York to Joe Clapp’s in the Bouwerie is 2 miles (which generally is the bating place, where gentlemen take leave of their friends going so long a journey), and where a parting glass of generous wine,”

“ ‘ If well applied, makes their dull horses feel
One spur in the head ’s worth two in the heel.’ ”

	MILES
From Clapp’s to the Half-Way House is	7
Thence to King’s Bridge is	9
“ Old Shute’s, East Chester	6
“ New Rochelle Meeting House	4
“ Joseph Horton’s	4
“ Denham’s at Rye	4
“ Knap’s at Horse Neck	7
“ Dan. Weed’s, at Stamford	7
“ Belden’s, Norwalk	10
“ Burr’s, Fairfield	10
“ Knowles’, Stratford	8
“ Andrew Sanford’s, Milford	4
“ Widow Frisbie’s, Branford	10
“ John Hobson’s, Guilford	10
“ John Grinnell’s, Killingworth	10
“ John Clark’s, Seabrook	10
“ Mr. Plum’s, New London	10
“ Mr. Saxton’s	15
“ Mr. Pemberton’s, Narragansett Country	15

	MILES
Thence to Frenchtown	24
“ Mr. Turpin’s	20
“ Mr. Woodcock’s	15
“ Billing’s Farm	11
“ White’s	6
“ Fishe’s	6

and thence to the great town of Boston ten miles, where many good lodgings and accommodations may be had for love and money.”

By and by a shouting and hubbub without draws every one to the door, and the fire engines and firemen dash by. There is a fire in Henry Riker’s blacksmith shop in the crowded part of the city. At the fire the engines attract our attention. They are known as the Newnham engine, after the inventor, and were patented in England early in the century. Each required twelve men to work it ; it took water from a cistern, or failing that from a wooden trough into which water was poured, and it could throw a continuous jet of water seventy feet high, and with such velocity as to break windows. In 1736 the corporation built a house for its engines contiguous to the Watch House in Broad Street, having appointed the year before one “ Jacobus Turk, gunsmith,” to keep them clean and in good repair upon his own cost for the sum of ten pounds per annum. It was not until September 19, 1738, that the first twenty-four firemen were appointed under Act of Assembly, their only salary or emolument being exemption from serving as constable, surveyor of highways, jurors on inquests, or as militia. The different trades and races seem to have



for D.T. Valentines Manual, 1860

FIREMEN AT WORK IN 1800
from an old Firemens Certificate.

been well represented, for we read of John Tiebout, blockmaker, Hercules Windover, blacksmith, Jacobus Delamontaigne, blockmaker, Thomas Brown, cutler, Abraham Van Gelder, gunsmith, Jacobus Stoutenburgh, gunsmith, Wm. Roome, Jr., carpenter, Walter Hyer, Sr., bricklayer, Johannes Alstein, blacksmith, Everet Pells, Jr., ropemaker, Peter Lott, carman, Peter Brower, bricklayer, Albertus Tiebout, carpenter, John Vredenburg, carpenter, John Dunscomb, cooper, Johannes Roome, carpenter, Peter Maeschalck, baker, Petrus Kip, baker, Andrew Myer, Jr., cordwainer, Robert Richardson, cooper, Rymer Broger, blacksmith, Barnet Bush, cooper, David Van Gelder, blacksmith, Johannes Van Duersen, cordwainer, Martinus Bogert, carman, Johannes Vredenberg, cordwainer, Johannes Van Sys, carpenter, Adolph Brase, cordwainer, and John Man, cooper, "*all strong, able, discreet, honest, and sober men.*"

The same act defined the firemen's duties. On the first alarm they were to drag the engines to the fire and there under direction of the magistrates, engineer, or overseer, "with their utmost diligence, manage, work, and play the said fire engines and all other tools and instruments, at such fire with all their power, skill, strength, and understanding, and when the fire is out shall draw the engine back." The city firemen were chartered in 1798 as the Volunteer Fire Department, and continued as such until 1865, when the present efficient system of a paid force took its place. In the early days of the volunteer force great care was taken in the selection of the men. They

passed an examination before being accepted, and were given a certificate of membership, which was framed and handed down as a precious heirloom.

We have so far omitted to notice a very numerous class—the servants or slaves. We meet them everywhere—on the streets, bringing water, selling pies, giving the babies an airing, doing the family marketing; indeed they perform most of the menial work in the houses, stores, and fields. There are three classes of them—negroes held as slaves, Indians, and European immigrants. Most of the negroes are native Africans, imported direct from Angola and Madagascar in the colony vessels—a savage, brutal, and heathen race. We have not been able to determine the status of the Indian slaves; probably they were prisoners of war, or criminals condemned to servitude. The European servants were those “indentured” or bound out until such time as their wages should discharge their passage money. These three classes are proved to have existed from certain items in the newspapers of the day, as when we read in 1732: “Just arrived from great Britain and to be sold on board the ship *Alice and Elizabeth*, Captain Paine, Commander, several likely Welch and English servant men, most of them tradesmen.” Again in 1751: “Likely Negroes, men and women, imported from the coast of Africa, . . . to be sold by Thomas Greenell”; and in 1759: “On board the ship *Charming Polly*, Captain Edward Bayley, Master, now riding at anchor in the harbor of New York, are several Palatine and Switzer servants to be sold; some are



FIREMEN'S CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP ABOUT THE YEAR 1800.

farmers and some tradesmen." Again, in 1747: "Run away on April the 25th, from Capt. Abraham Kip, in New York, an Indian man about eighteen years old, and speaks good English." Twenty shillings' reward was offered for his return. The servants, whether white or black, had a great propensity for running away, and it was rarely they went empty-handed. The Indian tribes and the colonies of Connecticut and New Jersey on either hand offered safe refuge. Colonial newspapers did a thriving business in publishing advertisements of runaway slaves, and from their descriptions of the truants may be gained vivid pictures of colonial costumes and customs. Here are a few specimens:

"Run away from Richard Bishop, a servant man named John Farrant about nineteen years of age, of a fresh complexion, about five feet and a half high; he had on when he went away a brown livery coat and breeches: the coat lined and cuffed with blue; a blue shoulder knot, a black natural wig, and a pair of red stockings."

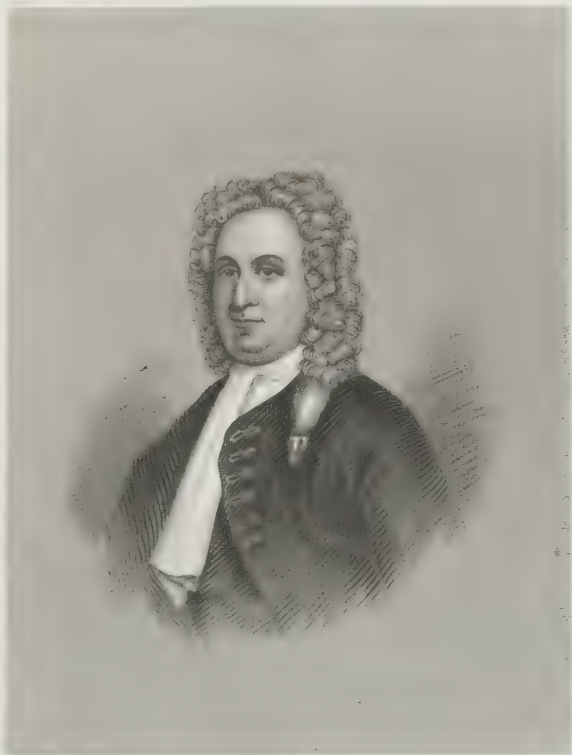
"Run away from Joseph Reade, of the city of New York, merchant, a likely mulatto servant woman named Sarah. She is about 24 years of age, and has taken with her a calico suit of clothes, a striped satteen silk waistcoat, a striped Calliminco waistcoat and petty-coat, two homespun waistcoats and petty-coats, and a negro man's light colored coat with brass buttons."

William Bradford advertises his "apprentice boy," James Parker, who had "a fresh complexion and short yellowish hair," and wore a yellowish Bengall coat, jacket, and breeches lined with the same, and

had taken with him "a brown colored coarse coat with flat metal buttons, two frocks, two shirts, one pair of striped ticken jackets and breeches."

The number of these slaves owned in a family was considered an index of its wealth and social position. Thus, of the aristocracy of New York, in 1704, Colonel De Peyster owned five male slaves, two females, and two children. Widow Van Cortlandt had the same. Rip Van Dam had three negroes, two negroesses, and a child. The Widow Phillipse, with but herself and child to be cared for, owned one man, three women, and three children. Balthazar Bayard had six slave domestics; Mrs Stuyvesant, four male negroes and a negress. Captain Morris, with only himself and wife, maintained seven slaves. William Smith, of the manor of St. George, employed twelve.

The great body of servants, as has been said, were Africans. They were rude, savage, lazy, and inefficient, and a constant source of fear and uneasiness to their masters. Indeed, between the French and Indians, Popish plots, and uprisings of his slaves, the colonial gentleman deemed himself in constant danger of assault. In 1741, out of a population of twelve thousand, two thousand were negro slaves. The latter had become very much disaffected at this time, partly, no doubt, because they were subject to such strict regulations. Not above four were allowed to meet together on the Sabbath, which was their holiday. No negro or Indian slave could appear in the streets after nightfall without a "lantern and a lighted candle in it," under penalty of forty lashes at the whipping-post. Gaming was visited by the same



Portrait of

JOHN WATSON

penalty. A slave must be buried by daylight ; no pall or pall-bearers were allowed at the funeral, and not more than twelve slaves were permitted to attend.

These restrictions, added to the hardships of their lot, led to several uprisings among them, one of which, that of 1741, we will consider somewhat at length, since it will introduce to us an interesting colonial court scene.

In February, 1740-1, numerous robberies were committed in the city, and several negro slaves, with one John Hughson, at whose tavern they were wont to congregate, were suspected of being concerned in it. Some of the suspected slaves were arrested and tried for the offence. This was on March 4th. On the 18th, the wind blowing a gale, the roof of the governor's house in Fort George was discovered to be on fire. At once the church bells rang, and the people, with the fire engines and the twenty-four firemen, hurried to the fort. It was soon seen, however, that no earthly power could save the governor's house and the chapel beside it, and the people turned their attention to the secretary's office over the fort gate, in which the records of the colony were kept. The office was consumed, however, in spite of their efforts. The barracks opposite caught next, and in an hour and a quarter every thing combustible within the fort was in ruins. The heavy timbers of the chapel belfry burned all night long, lighting town and bay with a fitful glare, while the hand grenades stored in the fort kept up a continual fusillade, as the flames reached them. The excitement in the city

was intense. The wildest rumors were current. Some thought that a Popish plot to burn the city was on foot, others that it was a negro uprising. To quiet the people, Captain Cornelius Van Horne's militia company, seventy strong, was called out, and patrolled the streets until day broke. Wednesday, March 25th, another fire broke out at Captain Warren's, near the Long Bridge, in the extreme southern part of the town, but the fire engines put it out. A week later, fire was discovered in the store-house of the merchant Van Zandt, in the eastern end of the city, but the engines confined the fire to the building.

April 4th, at night, a fire broke out in a cow stable near the Fly Market, in the most thickly settled portion of the town. Everybody ran with their buckets, the fire engines rattled down, and the flames were quenched. On their way home the people were startled by another cry of fire, which proved to be in the loft of the house of Benjamin Thomas on the west side. When extinguished, it was found that an incendiary had been at work, for coals had been placed between two straw beds, on which a negro slept. The next day, Sunday, another attempt was discovered—coals had been placed under a hay stack near the coach house and stables of John Murray, Esq., in the Broadway, near his house, and these coals, by cinders spilled in carrying them, were traced to the house of a negro near by. The same day a Mrs. Earle, remaining home from church, heard three negroes, walking by her house, threaten to burn the town, and recognized one of them "as Mr. Walter's Quaco." All doubt that a plot to burn the city ex-

isted was banished when, next morning at ten, a fire broke out in the house of Sergeant Burns, and another, about the same time, in a cluster of buildings near the Fly Market. There were some Spanish negroes, recently captured, in the city, who had been muttering and threatening the whites ever since their arrival, and these were now seized and haled before the magistrates, who, after examination, committed them to prison.

Other fires occurred, and many negroes, with several white people were arrested. On April 21, 1741, the Supreme Court of Judicature of the colony came in and sat in the City Hall, "His Honor James De Lancey, Esq., Chief Justice, absent, Frederick Phillipse, Esq., Second Justice, and Daniel Horsmanden, Esq., Third Justice, present." The prisoners having been duly indicted by the Grand Jury, were brought before the court. A description of the trial, taken from an account by one of the judges, Mr. Daniel Horsmanden, we present, as giving the reader an excellent idea of the stately and solemn ceremonial of the colonial courts.

The judges sat on the bench in heavy black robes and full-bottomed wigs. The prisoners being marshalled before it, the court rose and Judge Phillipse said: "The King against the same on trial upon three indictments." They then sat down and the clerk said: "Cryer, make proclamation."

Cryer—"Oyez! Our Sovereign Lord the King doth strictly charge and command all manner of persons to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment. If any one can inform the King's Justices or Attorney-General for this

province on the inquest now to be taken on the behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, of any treason, murder, felony, or any other misdemeanor committed or done by the prisoners at the bar, let them come forth, and they shall be heard, for the prisoners stand upon their deliverance."

Clerk—"Cryer, make proclamation."

Cryer—"Oyez ! You good men that are impanelled to inquire between our Sovereign Lord the King and John Hughson, Sarah his wife, Sarah Hughson the daughter, Margaret Sorubiero, alias Kerry, the prisoners at the bar, answer to your names."

Clerk—"John Hughson, Sarah the wife of John Hughson, Sarah the daughter of John Hughson, Margaret Sorubiero, hold up your hands :

"These good men that are now called, and here appear, are those which are to pass between you and our Sovereign Lord the King upon your lives or deaths ; if you, or any, or either of you challenge any of them, you must speak as they come to the book to be sworn and before they are sworn."

Judge Phillipse—"You, the prisoners at the bar, we must inform you that the law allows you the liberty of challenging peremptorily twenty of the jurors, if you have any dislike to them, and you need not give your reasons for so doing ; and you may likewise challenge as many more as you can give sufficient reasons for ; and you may either all join in your challenges or make them separately."

John Hughson, for the prisoners and himself, challenged sixteen. The twelve selected were then sworn.

Clerk—"Cryer, make proclamation" ; after which the clerk, turning to the jury, continued ;



Engraved by J. G. Kaye from a drawing by S. J. G. J.

For D. T. Vassall's Magazine for 1850.

Y^e execution of Goff Y^e Neger of M^t Lochins on y^e Commons

"You gentlemen of the jury, that are sworn, look upon the prisoners and hearken to this charge."

Three indictments were then read, and the clerk, turning to the jury, said: "Upon this indictment they have been arraigned, and hath pleaded themselves 'not guilty,' and for their trial hath put themselves upon God and their country, which country you are."

The Attorney-General then opened for the king, and the trial proceeded. It is not necessary to follow it in detail. After hearing the testimony and the pleadings, the jury returned a verdict of "guilty," and Judge Phillipse, after a solemn and impressive address, sentenced them as follows:

. . . "I must now proceed to the duty the law requires of me, which is to tell you that you, the prisoners now at the bar, be removed to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you, and each of you, are to be hanged by the neck until you are severally dead; and I pray God of his great goodness to have mercy on your souls."

Sarah, the daughter, was finally respited and pardoned. Many others were tried and punished. In all eleven negroes were burned, eighteen hanged, fifty transported, and many more imprisoned. Several white persons were also executed. Business for four months was prostrated. It was a fearful and dramatic chapter in the city's history, and, by general verdict of historians, a quite unnecessary one—that is, it is not now believed that any serious plot to burn the town really existed.

These men, whose public acts we have been considering and who have perhaps impressed us with being cold, stern, stately, unapproachable beings, had also their social and domestic life—loved, sorrowed, hated, went the round of fashionable follies and amusements, dressed well, danced well, entertained well, in some respects

“ Lived in a nobler way
With grander hospitality,”

than do the men of to-day. The hurry and fever of our modern life was unknown to them. England was two months distant. It took five days' steady travelling to reach Boston, and nearly three to go to Philadelphia. The newspapers came out once a week. There was greater opportunity for social intercourse and interchange of courtly ceremonial. The governor and his lady, the officers of the garrison and of his Majesty's frigates, with visiting noblemen and the resident gentry, formed a minor court circle, that adopted, in a measure, the fashions and amusements of that at home.

Theatre-going, card-playing, horse-racing, dancing, horseback-riding, sails in Captain Rickett's "pleasure boat" were the popular amusements. There was a play-house in the city as early as October, 1733, reference being made to it in an advertisement in the *New York Gazette* of that date. Perhaps it was to this play house that the following play-bill, cut from the *Weekly Post Boy*, of March 12, 1750, referred :

BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S PERMISSION.

AT THE THEATRE IN NASSAU STREET,

This Evening will be presented

THE HISTORICAL TRAGEDY OF RICHARD III.

Wrote originally by Shakespeare and altered by COLLY CIBBER, Esq.

To which will be added a farce called

THE BEAU IN THE SUDDS

AND

On Saturday next will be presented

A TRAGY-COMEDY CALLED

THE SPANISH FRYAR,

OR

THE DOUBLE DISCOVERY,

WROTE BY MR. DRYDEN.

Tickets to be had of the printer hereof.

Pitt, 5s. Gallery, 3s. To begin, precisely at half an hour after 6 o'clock, and no person to be admitted behind the scenes."

On September 10th, a comedy called "The Recruiting Officer" is announced for the same place, and on the 17th the "tragedy called Cato, wrote by Mr. Addison." Quite a long list of "tragedys, comedies, ballad operas, and pastoral dialogues," enacted in the old play-house, might be made from these play bills. There were many other entertainments open to the pleasure-seeker, however. Thus, in the *Weekly Post Boy*, of December 25, 1749, John Bonnin informs the curious of either sex that he begins that day to exhibit his "Philosophical Optical Machine," "which had given so much satisfaction to all those that had already favored him with their company. He has sundry new additions which he proposes to show all the winter season: to begin at

8 o'clock in the morning and continue showing till nine at night, at the house of Mr. Victor Becket, opposite Mr. Hayne's new buildings in Crown Street. Price, 1 shilling for grown persons and a sixpence for children." Next is Punch's company of comedians,—which never palls,—with the inevitable "wax figgers." There are fourteen of the latter, comprising the effigies of the royal family of England and the Empress, Queen of Hungaria and Bohemia. "The company will act this week the play of Whittington and his Cat, and next week the Norfolk Tragedy, or the Babes in the Wood. Price, 2 shillings for each ticket."

In "Mr. Holt's Long Room," again, we have the "New Pantomime Entertainment in Grotesque Characters, called the Adventures of Harlequin and Scaramouch, or the Spaniard Tricked"; to which is added an "Optic," wherein is "represented in Perspective several of the most noted cities and remarkable places in Europe and America, and a new Prologue and Epilogue addressed to the town. Tickets, five shillings each." There is also a concert of "vocal and instrumental musick at the house of Robert Tod, to begin precisely at five o'clock. Tickets at 5s." The wonder of its day, however, and the greatest attraction, was the new electrical machine, which was thus announced in the *Weekly Post Boy*, of May 16, 1748:

"FOR THE ENTERTAINMENT OF THE CURIOUS.
TO BE SHOWN:

The most surprising effects or Phenomena on Electricity of attracting, repelling, and Flenemies Force, particu-

Mr. P O O L,
The first American that ever Exhibited
the following FEATS OF
HORSEMANSHIP

On the Continent,

Intends Performing this Afternoon, on the Hill near the Jews Burial Ground, if the weather permits, if not, on the first fair day afterwards, except Sunday. Mr. POOL has erected a Menage, at a very considerable expence, with seats raised from the ground, for the convenient accommodation of those Ladies and Gentlemen who may please to honour him with their company.

A CLOWN will entertain the Ladies and Gentlemen between the Feats.

1. MOUNTS a single Horse in full speed, standing on the top of the saddle, and in that position carries a glass of wine in his hand, drinks it off, and falls to his seat on the saddle.
2. Mounts a single Horse in half speed, standing on the saddle, throws up an Orange, and catches it on the point of a fork.
3. Mounts two Horses in full speed, standing on the saddles, and fires a pistol.
4. Mounts two Horses in full speed, with a foot in the stirrup of each saddle, from thence to the ground, and from thence to the tops of the saddles at the same speed.
5. Mounts two Horses in full speed, standing on the saddles, and in that position leaps a bar.
6. Mounts a single Horse in full speed, fires a pistol, falls backward, with his head to the ground, hanging by his right leg, and rises again to his seat on the saddle.
7. Mounts three Horses in full speed, standing on the saddles, and in that position leaps a bar.

After which Mr. Pool will introduce a very extraordinary Horse, who, at the word of command, will lay himself down and groan, apparently through extreme sickness and pain; after which he will rise and sit up like a lady's lap-dog, then rise to his feet and make his Manners to the Ladies and Gentlemen.

The entertainment will conclude with the noted scene, THE TAYLOR RIDING TO BRENTFORD.

*** Every time of Performance there will be new Feats.—Mr. POOL flatters himself the Ladies and Gentlemen who may be pleased to honour him with their Company, will have no reason to go away dissatisfied;—he even hopes to merit their approbation.

The doors will be opened at Three o'Clock, and the Performance will begin at Four in the afternoon precisely.

TICKETS to be had at Mr. CHILDS's Printing-Office, near the Coffee-House; Mrs. DELAMATER's, next Door to the Play-House; and at the PLACE OF PERFORMANCE. Price for the First Seats FOUR SHILLINGS—for the Second, THREE SHILLINGS.

‡‡‡ Mr. POOL beseeches the Ladies and Gentlemen who honour him with their Presence, to bring no dogs with them to the Place of Performance.

‖‖‖ The Exhibitions will be on TUESDAYS and FRIDAYS.

New York, September 21, 1786.

larly the new way of electrifying several persons at the same time, so that Fire shall dart from all Parts of their Bodies, as has been exhibited to the satisfaction of the Curious in all parts of Europe. Electricity became all the subject in vogue. Princes were willing to see this new fire, which a man produced from himself, and is tho't to be of service in many ailments. To be seen at any time of the day, from 8 o'clock in the morning till 9 at night, provided the weather proves dry, and no damp air, (a company presenting,) at the House of Mrs. Wilson, near the Weigh House, in New York, where due attendance is given by Mr. Richard Brichell."

The Englishman could not be long in America without importing his own race-horse and hunter. Announcements like the following are often met with: "On Wednesday, the 13th of October next, will be run for on the course at New York, a plate of twenty pounds' value, by any Horse, Mare, or Gelding carrying ten stone (saddle and bridle included) the best of three heats, two miles each heat." The entrance fee was half a pistole each, and the great crowds that "came on horseback and in chaises" were obliged to pay sixpence each as gate money to the owner of the grounds.

There were famous courses too at Greenwich, and on Hempstead Plains, as well as at New York. Thus the *Weekly Post Boy* of June 4, 1750:

"Last Friday a great horse race was run on Hempstead Plains for a considerable wager, which engaged the attention of so many of this city that upwards of seventy chairs and chaises were carried over the ferry from hence the day before, besides a far greater number

of horses ; and it was thought that the number of horses on the Plains at the race far exceeded a thousand."

Often individual races and trials of speed were arranged on a wager. Thus we read, under date of April 29, 1759, that " Oliver Delancey's horse ran from one of our Palisade gates (Wall Street and Broadway) to King's Bridge and back again, being upwards of thirty miles, in one hour $47\frac{1}{2}$ minutes." Horseback riding through the embowered lanes and by-paths of the island was a favorite amusement. The lady and her escort did not then ride coldly apart, however, but shared the same steed, the fair rider being mounted on a pillion behind, and maintaining her position by passing an arm about her companion's waist ; both saddle and pillion were elegantly made and lavishly ornamented. What is now Second Avenue was then, according to a naughty chronicler, the favorite drive, the reason being that at the corner of the present Fiftieth Street, a quaint stone bridge, famed as the " Kissing Bridge," spanned a little, clear-water brook that went babbling down to the East River. On crossing this bridge the favored swain was privileged to claim a kiss from his companion—a curious survival of an old Danish custom. If the lady was disposed to be ungracious, however, there were parallel roads she might choose.

Dancing in colony times grew to be one of the fine arts. No merry-making was thought to be complete without one of the stately dances of the day. We have seen how all the king's birthdays and



fête days generally concluded with a grand ball in the evening. Sometimes people danced for sweet charity's sake, as they now do. For instance, in the *Weekly Post Boy* of December 11, 1752, we read :

"A ball on Thursday evening is proposed to be held at the house of Mr. Trotter, in the Broadway, for the benefit of Jacob Leonard, who, by reason of the late sickness in this place, is reduced to low circumstances. Tickets to be had at Mr. Trotter's, or at the said Leonard's, opposite the Presbyterian Church. Price, four shillings."

The dances were mostly those introduced from England, and were, without exception, of a lively character, involving swift motions of the limbs and flying movements of the feet. The modern round dance was unknown. The "country dance" (contra dance?) was the favorite.

These were the duties and diversions of the gentlefolk. The commonalty, too, had their favorite modes of recreation. Athletic sports figured largely in these—foot-racing, jumping, quoit-pitching, climbing the greased pole, "pulling the goose," and others. "Shooting-matches" would seem to have been the favorite, judging from the great number of announcements like the following :

"To be shot for : a lot of land belonging to Robert Bennett, in Sacketts Street. It is to be shot for on Easter Munday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th of April next, with a single ball at 100 yards distance, at the sign of the Marlboroug's Head, in the Bowery Lane. Every person that inclines to shoot

for the above-mentioned lot of land is to lay in 5s. before he fires, his price for every shot, and whoever makes the best shot in the four days mentioned shall receive a good and warrantable bill of sale of the afore-mentioned lot of land from Robert Bennett."

Lotteries were popular with all classes, and were generally organized in aid of some charity, church, or benevolent work. Snuff-taking seems to have been the prevalent vice among ladies, and formed a favorite subject for the lampooners of the day. This example, from a newspaper of 1731, shows how forced and heavy was colonial wit :

" This silly trick of taking snuff is attended with such a cocquet air in some young (as well as older) gentlewomen, and such a sedate masculine one in others, that I cannot tell which most to complain of ; but they are to me equally disagreeable. Mrs. Saunter is so impatient of being without it, that she takes it as often as she does salt at meals ; and as she affects a wonderful ease and negligence in all her manners, an upper lip, mixed with snuff and the sauce, is what is presented to the observation of all who have the honor to eat with her. The pretty creature, her niece, does all she can to be as disagreeable as her aunt, and if she is not as offensive to the eye, she is quite as much to the ear, and makes up all she wants in a confident air by a nauseous rattle of the nose when the snuff is delivered, and the fingers make the stops and closes on the nostrils. This, perhaps, is not a very courtly usage in speaking of gentlewomen ; that is very true, but where arises the offence ? Is it in those who commit, or those who observe it ? As to those who take it for pretty action, or to fill up little in-

tervals of discourse, I can bear with them ; but then they must not use it when another is speaking, who ought to be heard with too much respect to admit of offering at that time from hand to hand the snuff-box. But Florilla is so far taken with her behavior in this kind, that she pulls out her box (which is indeed full of good Brazile) in the middle of the sermon, and to show that she has the audacity of the well-bred woman, she offers it to the men as well as to the women who sit next her. But since by this time all the world knows she has a fine hand, I am in hopes she may give herself no further trouble in this matter. On Sunday was sevennight, when they came about for the offering, she gave her charity with a very good air, but at the same time asked the church-warden if he would take a pinch."

But these merry-makings, and the brilliant society that gave them birth, had their day and passed,—a sterner age succeeding. In 1760 "the times that tried men's souls" were approaching, and it is quite time that, with lofty purpose and pulses stirred, we turned to consider them,—for New York played no insignificant rôle in the great drama.





XIII.

THE HEROIC AGE.

THE year 1765 is a red-letter year in American history. In March of that year the Stamp Act was passed, and the Stamp Act was the little entering wedge that first opened the rupture between the colonies and the mother country—a rupture which widened and widened until a great gulf, and at last free national existence for the daughter, was the result. This Stamp Act in itself was not an oppressive measure. It provided simply that all deeds, receipts, and other legal papers, even to marriage licenses, should be written or printed on stamped paper, this paper to be sold by the revenue collectors, and to form part of the revenue collected from the colonies. The difficulty was that a principle, a right, was involved. If there was one thing that the Briton of that day gloried in, jealously guarded, it was the English Constitution. The people had gotten this grand instrument by piecemeal, as it were, through a thousand years of struggle. First, as students of English history know, came Magna Carta, the Great Charter, which the barons forced from King John in 1215. Next, the Petition of Rights, in 1628, one of the conditions of which was that the king should

have no power to make "forced loans," that is, levy taxes without the people's consent. Third, the Habeas Corpus Act, in 1679, "for the better securing the liberty of the subject and the prevention of importations beyond the seas." Fourth, the Bill of Rights, of 1689, agreed to when William and Mary came to the throne. And, lastly, the "Act of Settlement," of 1700, which still further limited the prerogatives of the crown. There were, of course, other grants and concessions, but these are generally regarded as the five great pillars of the English Constitution. The way in which British yeomen regarded this grand instrument has been described by M. Taine, in words imbued with the very spirit of the times :

"Every one, great or small, has his own, which he defends with all his might. My lands, my property, my chartered right, whatsoever it be—ancient, indirect, superfluous, individual, public,—none shall touch it, King, Lords, nor Commons. Is it of the value of five shillings? I will defend it like a million pounds; it is my person which they would fetter. I will leave my business, lose my time, throw away my money, make associations, pay fines, go to jail, perish in the attempt. No matter. I shall show that I am no coward; that I will not bend under injustice, that I will not yield a portion of my right."

This was exactly the position taken by the American colonists when King George and his ministers sought to lay a "forced loan" on them by means of the Stamp Act. They said the tax was illegal, unconstitutional, because levied without their consent;

that if the ministry had power to lay this tax, they could go on and levy others, and others, until their property was all swept away. They were willing, they said, to pay their just share of the taxes of the realm ; but then they must be allowed to send men to Parliament to defend their rights and look after their interests. A statesman would have foreseen that America must now be made an integral part of the empire, or she would aspire to separate national existence ; but, unfortunately, King George and his ministers were not statesmen, and they rushed blindly on to the dismemberment of the empire.

As the time came for the Stamp Act to go into effect New York was on the verge of revolt. The political fabric was mined and honeycombed, the powder laid ; it needed but to press the button to produce an explosion that would shatter it to fragments. There were two parties in the field : the royalists, or Tories, who, with blind devotion, supported the king ; the Whigs, or " rebels," who were for resisting to the last extremity what they called the " tyranny " of king and Parliament. The strife between the two parties soon became intense ; words are powerless to depict it. The very stones seemed to breathe defiance. " Rebellion," " treason," " resistance to tyrants," " confiscation of estates," " imprisonment," " death on the scaffold," were the topics ever in men's thoughts. Pamphlets, broadsides, hand-bills, filled the air ; ballads, epigrams, and scurrilous verses were poured forth by the song-writers on both sides. The newspapers —Holt's *Journal* and Gaines' *Mercury* for the

Whigs, Rivington's *Gazette* for the royalists, steadily fanned the flame. Read a Whig newspaper of that day, and you find such terms as these: "Tories," "ministerial hirelings," "dependent placemen," "contractors," "informers," "banditti," and the like. Read a Tory newspaper, and it is "rebels," "traitors," "despicable pamphleteers," "liars," "fomenters of sedition," "drunken vagabonds," "mobility," "pulpiters," "sons of licentiousness." The Tory newspapers averred that Congress took its votes after drinking thirty-two bumpers of Madeira, that the riffraff were hired to insult the soldiers in order to provoke a collision, that Whig meetings were composed of drunken vagabonds, "raisers of riots," whose deity was the liberty pole, whose ever-staunch friend was the mob. They spoke of Holt's *Journal* as that "fund of lies and sedition"; the Sons of Liberty as being composed of two sorts: those who by their debaucheries and ill conduct had reduced themselves to poverty, and the Puritan ministers "who beitched from the pulpit, liberty, independence, and a steady perseverance in shaking off their allegiance to the mother country." They spoke of the "distempered brain," "the violence of the banditti," of liberty as a word they had got "by rote like a parrot," and described the patriots as gathering at a tavern with "a Cooper or an Adams" at their head, where they got drunk, damned the king, ministers, and taxes, and vowed they would follow any *ignis fatuus* produced by demagogues."

The Whig writers were even more bitter and sarcastic. They drew parallels between Rome in her

decadence and themselves. "The Roman emperors," they said, "held the dignity of government in such open contempt that they frequently made their horses consuls. Ours, in this last point, go beyond them by making asses senators." A Tory they defined as "a thing whose head is in England, its body in America, and whose neck ought to be stretched." A favorite toast was, "Addition to Whigs, subtraction to Tories, multiplication to friends of liberty, division to the enemies of America." They pictured the "ministerial hirelings" as ready to perform any dirty drudgery for the sake of preserving a titled and lucrative place. The British troops, who had been quartered on them to subdue and overawe them, were their pet aversion; the soldiers returned the feeling in kind, and improved every chance to insult and annoy them. Naturally men indulging in such abuse soon began to carry arms, their houses became well-stocked arsenals, collisions occurred, women grew pale as their fathers, husbands, brothers, sons, armed for war and took opposite sides.

This talk of resistance and preparations for resisting, it must be remembered, went on in the other colonies as well as in New York, and at last, on the suggestion of the eloquent patriot, James Otis, of Massachusetts, a Congress of the colonies was called to consider the matter. It met in the City Hall in New York on the 7th of October, 1765, nine of the thirteen colonies being represented. Two important state papers—a Declaration of Rights and an address to the king—were the results of this conference. Meanwhile the people were busily talking and acting.



VIEW OF FEDERAL HALL, 1797. (FROM A PRINT IN POSSESSION OF DR. T. A. EMMET.)

Patriotic men vowed to drink no more wine, to go clad in sheepskins, to purchase no more wares from Great Britain, until the obnoxious act was repealed. Patriotic women agreed to wear only homespun, and thus taboo all British-made goods: while the young ladies vowed "to join hands with none but such as would to the utmost endeavor to abolish the custom of marrying with license." The 1st of November had been appointed as the day when the Stamp Act should go into effect. As the day approaches, it is evident there will be trouble if any attempt is made to enforce it. Threats of resistance are openly made. Lord Grenville, the British Prime-Minister, has appointed Americans to sell the stamped paper, thinking thus to placate the colonists. It but adds to their resentment. "If your father must die, will you then become his executioner in order to pocket the hangman's fees? If the ruin of your country is decreed, are you justified in taking part in the plunder?" These questions are asked of the stamp collectors, and they so intimidate them that they flee the country or resign. Oliver, the Massachusetts stamp-master, is hung in effigy on an elm in the outskirts of Boston. The Rhode Island stamp-master abdicates at the demand of his infuriated fellow-citizens. Jared Ingersoll, collector for Connecticut, is met by five hundred mounted men as he is riding full speed to Hartford to secure protection from the authorities there, is conducted to the main street of Wethersfield, and there forced to resign, and to throw up his hat and cry "Liberty and Property!" three times. James McEvers, the Han-

over Square merchant, appointed for New York, has resigned ; so has Coxe, of New Jersey ; Hughes, of Pennsylvania, and every collector south of the Potomac. The collector of Maryland is even now in Fort George, hiding from the wrath of his old neighbors and friends. The king is beggared of officers wherewith to enforce his decrees. On October 23d, the ship *Edwards*, bearing the stamped paper, arrives from England and, convoyed by a frigate and a tender, comes to her anchorage under the guns of Fort George. The water front is black with citizens, who receive her with menacing gestures, hisses, derisive cheers, while the ships in the harbor fly their colors at half mast in token of grief. That night, men evading the rattle watch steal through the streets and stealthily affix to trees and buildings "hand-bills," on which next morning the people read, written in a bold, free hand:

PRO PATRICI.

The first man that distributes or makes use of stamped paper let him take care of his house, person, and effects.

VOX POPULI.

WE DARE !

The Sons of Liberty, it was seen, had been abroad that night. The query next arises, "Who were these Sons of Liberty?" They were members of a great secret order of patriots recently organized in New York, and which soon had its branches in every remote town and hamlet. Its own definition of a Son of Liberty was "a friend and asserter of the



*Your affectionate Friend
John Lamb.*

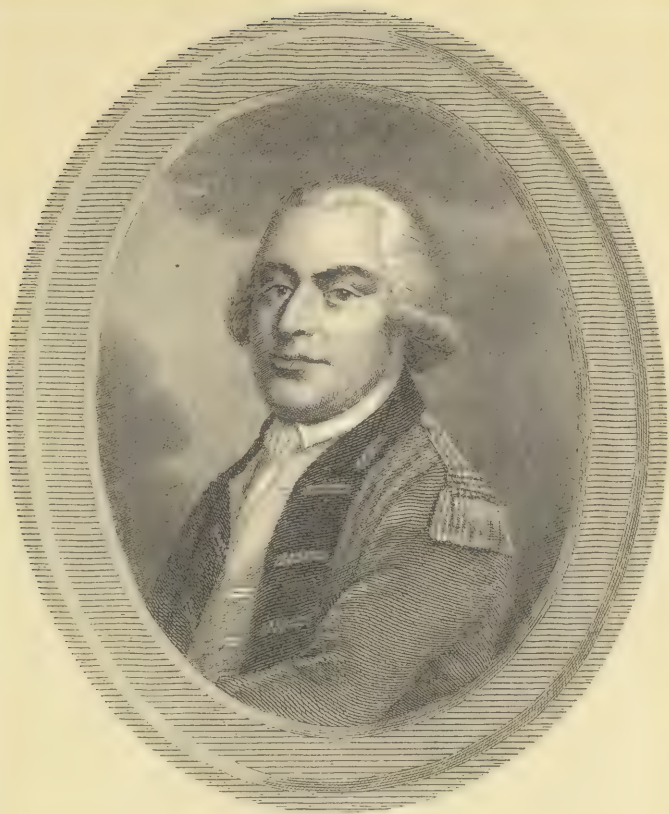
rights of the people and the English Constitution, a warm patriot and opposer of the tyrannical acts and pretensions of the British Parliament." In royalist eyes, as we have seen, the Son of Liberty was quite a different person. These hand-bills had their effect. McEvers, to whom the stamped paper was consigned, refused to take it. No one would touch the detested paper. At last, in despair, Lieutenant-Governor Colden had it stored in the fort until the 1st of November should arrive.

That the reader may have a clearer idea of what is to follow, we will pause a moment and consider briefly the theatre and the actors in the drama. The rallying point of the people throughout these troublous days was "the Fields," or "the Common," as it was indifferently called, and which we now know as the City Hall Park. It was the people's *Aventine*, their *Sacred Hill*, where they met after each aggression of the ministry, where they were addressed by the tribunes, and where they concerted measures of resistance. These "tribunes" were men singularly well fitted for the responsibility thrust upon them. Among the most active were John Lamb, a New Yorker by birth, an optician by profession, who later became a colonel in the New York Line; Isaac Sears, a merchant in the West India trade, the boldest, most alert, and hot-headed of the patriot leaders; Alexander McDougall, a Scotchman by birth, who later became a major-general in the Continental army; John Morin Scott, an eminent lawyer; and Marinus Willett, who had marched with

Abercrombie to Lake George and Ticonderoga, with Bradstreet to Fort Frontenac, and who later became a lieutenant-colonel in the New York Line, and in 1807 mayor of New York.

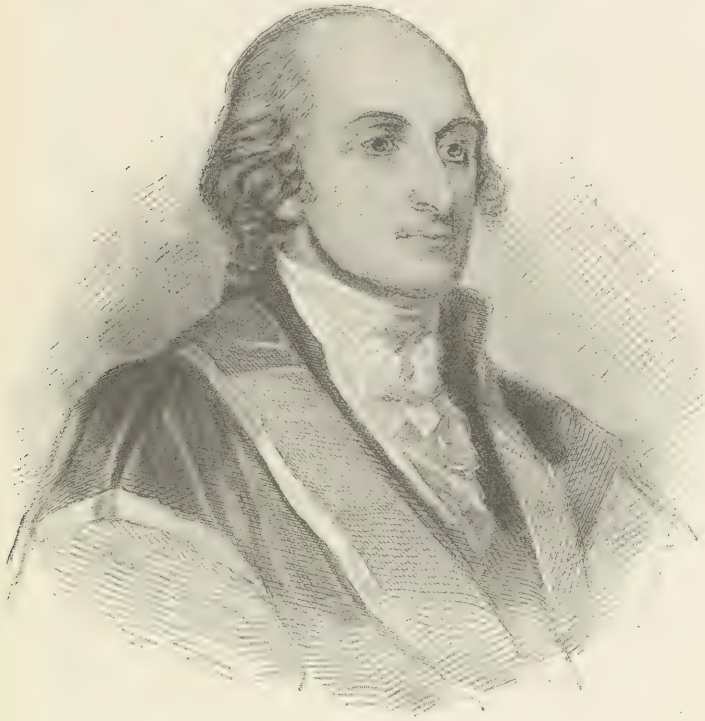
Among the more moderate were Oliver Delancey, justice of the king's bench; Robert Livingston, a famous lawyer; Phillip Livingston, "hardware dealer near the Fly Market," later known as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; and Peter T. Curtenius, "merchant," later commissary-general of New York in the Revolution. To these were afterwards added, Alexander Hamilton, a student in Columbia College, who later became the greatest statesman of his day; and John Jay, born in New York, December 12, 1745, at this time a law student in the city, later chief-justice of the United States, and a statesman of eminence.

If such were the tribunes, who were the prætors? First in power was Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, who, until the newly appointed Governor Sir Henry Moore should arrive, was clothed with supreme authority. He was a man eighty years of age, of the staunchest loyalty, but stubborn, obtuse, who knew of no way of governing except by force. There was General Thomas Gage, irreverently styled "Tom Gage" by the patriots, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, whose large double house, surrounded by beautiful gardens, stood on the present site of Nos. 67 and 69 Broadway; Major Thomas James, commanding the royal regiment of artillery and owner of "Vauxhall," a beautiful country-seat on the banks of the Hudson, and greatly



1770-1771

detested by the people for his arrogance and boastful threats ; Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D.D., rector of Trinity Church ; Myles Cooper, D.D., president of Kings College, later banished for his Tory senti-



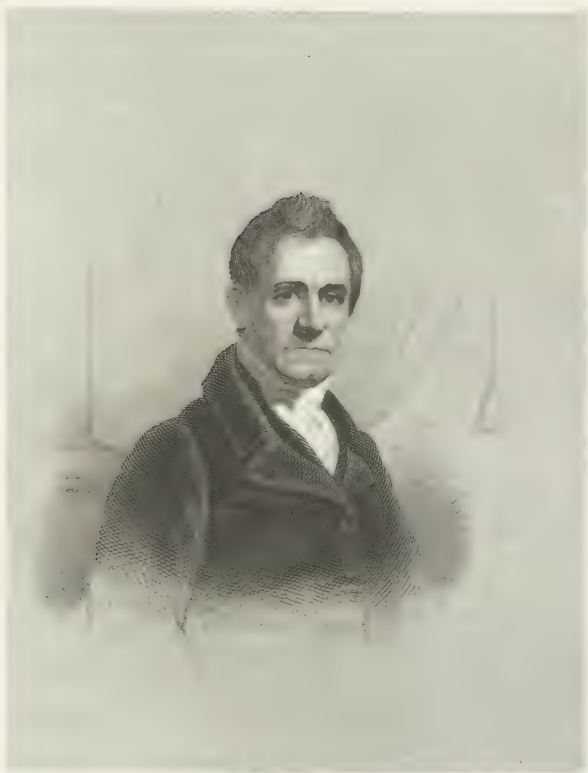
JOHN JAY.

ments and pamphlets ; John Antill, postmaster ; Daniel Horsmanden, chief-justice of the province ; Samuel Bayard, assistant secretary ; Colonel William Bayard, the great merchant ; John Harris

Cruger, treasurer of the city ; John Griffiths, master of the port ; Thomas Buchanan, to whom later the tea ships were consigned ; Daniel Matthews, later mayor, and many others, chiefly those who held office or received emoluments from the king. The fact should be emphasized, however, that there were many among the royalists of the noblest character, who were such purely from loyalty to the crown and from love to their country. The prætors had this advantage over the tribunes, that, quartered in the fort and in wooden barracks on the north side of the Common, were several companies of the 16th and 24th royal regiments, who might be trusted to enforce their commands.

Governor Colden had, in the beginning, greatly incensed the people by repairing and strengthening the fort and by calling in troops from the outposts. "Did he mean to frighten them by this show of force?" the Whig newspapers asked. "Was New York a conquered country to be governed at the point of the bayonet?"

Thursday, the 31st of October, came, the day on which the governor was to take the oath required to carry the Stamp Act into effect. The city awoke in a fever of excitement. "The last day of liberty," it was called ; bells tolled ; now and then muffled drums were heard beating the funeral march. At an early hour crowds of country people began flocking in. There were, too, many sailors from the ships. The citizens joined them, and all paraded the streets, singing patriotic songs, which mercilessly lampooned the governor, the troops, and the Tories,



Cadwallader D. Golden

and threatened dire vengeance on any one having the hardihood to use the stamped paper. In the evening two hundred of the merchants trading to England proceeded to the City Arms tavern, on lower Broadway, in whose large room the belles and beaux of the day held their "assemblies," and attended concerts and lectures. Here they made brave and patriotic speeches, and passed spirited resolutions "*to import no goods from England while the Stamp Act remained unrepealed*"; "*to countermand all orders for spring goods already sent*"; "*to sell no English goods on commission*"; and "*to buy none from strangers that might be sent out.*" At the same time, a committee of correspondence, to urge similar action on the part of other cities was appointed. The merchants of Philadelphia signed this "non-importation agreement," as it was called, on the 14th of November following, the merchants of Boston on December 9th. So we see that both the famous Non-Importation Acts and the Committees of Correspondence of the Revolution all had their origin in New York.

At the same time it was agreed that a grand mass-meeting should be held next evening, November 1st, on the Common. We should have had no stirring, graphic account of what was done at this meeting and afterward, if a young country lad, one E. Carther, had not come to the city from his home in the Highlands, with scores of his neighbors and friends, eager to see and hear all that occurred on this fatal first of November. His letter is one of the classics of the day. It was written, he tells us, when

“he was in high spirits and full of old Madcira.” First, he informs his parents what the Governor did on this Stamp-Act day, in his contest with the patriots :

“ He sent for the soldiers from Tortoise ; he planted the cannon against the city ; he fixt the cow horns with musket balls. Two cannon were planted against the fort gate for fear the mob should break in loaded with grape shot ; he ordered the cannon of the Battery to be spiked up for fear the mob should come so far as to break out a civil war andnock down the fort. Major James had said : ‘ Never fear ; I drive New York with 500 artillery soldiers.’ He (Major James) placed soldiers at the Gaol to prevent the Mob letting out the Prisoners. He ordered 15 artillery soldiers at his house near the Coladge where Black Sam formerly dwelt, and the rest of the soldiers he kept within the fort in readiness for an engagement.

“ In the evening the citizens began to muster about the streets. About seven in the evening I heard a great Hozaing near the Broadway. I ran that way with a number of others, when the mob first began. They had an ephogy (effigy) of the Governor made of paper, which sat on an old chair that a seaman carried on his head. The mob went *from* the Fields down the Fly (Pearl Street), Hozaing at every corner, with amazing sight of candles. The mob went from there to Mr. McEvers’, who was appointed for stamp master in London. Since he did not accept it, they honored him with three cheers. From thence they went to the fort, that the Governor might see his ephogy if he dare show his face. The mob gave seven Hozas and threatened the officer upon the wall. They jeered Major James for saying that he



THE STAMP RIOTS IN NEW YORK.

could drive New York with 500 men. The mob had assurance enough to break open the Governor's coach-house, and took his coach from under the muzzles of his cannon. They put the ephogy upon the coach, one sat up for coachman with the whip in his hand, whilst others drew it about the town down to the Coffee House and the Merchants' Exchange."

After being addressed there by their leaders, they turned and marched back to the fort, "with about 500 or 600 candles to alight them."

"I ran down to the fort to hear what they said. As the mob came down it made a beautiful appearance. And, as soon as Major James saw them, I heard him say from off the walls: 'Here they come, by ——!' As soon as the mob saw the fort, they gave three cheers and came down to it. They went under the cannon which was planted against them with grape shot. They bid a soldier upon the walls to tell 'the rebel drummer' (the Governor), or Major James, to give orders to fire. They placed the gallows against the fort gate, and took clubs and beat against it, and then gave three Hozas in defiance. They then concluded to burn the ephogy and the Governor's coach in the Bowling Green before their eyes."

After burning the coach the multitude, which seems to have passed beyond the control of its leaders, went to Major James' house, and destroyed his furniture, saving only one red silk curtain and the colors of the royal regiment, which they carried off in triumph.

"The third day," continues our letter-writer, "they was resolved to have the Governor, dead or alive. The

fort got up the fascines in order for battle, and the mob began before dark. The Governor sent for his Council which held about two hours, whilst thousands stood by ready for the word. The Governor consented, and promised faithfully to have nothing to do with the stamps, and that he would send them back to London by Captain Davis, of the *Edwards*."

This account is substantially correct, though written evidently from a royalist standpoint. At the demand of the people, the Governor delivered the stamp paper to the mayor and aldermen, who deposited it in the City Hall, and no further attempt was made to enforce the Stamp Act in New York. The next spring, 1766, a new ministry, with Pitt at its head, having come into power, the odious law was repealed; the Parliament, however, asserted its right to tax the colonies by passing a "Billeting Act," which forced the colonists to maintain the troops quartered among them.

On the arrival of Sir Henry Moore a change was made in the policy of the government. He sought to rule rather by the graces of the courtier and the arts of the diplomatist, and succeeded so admirably that the New York Assembly was soon under his control, while the royalist party in the city grew to large proportions. He came as "a friend among friends," he said. The fort was dismantled, the troops dispersed, and the Governor, like a skilful surgeon, devoted himself to healing the wounds his predecessor had made. The earlier part of his reign was marked by one very significant event—a collision between the Sons of Liberty and the soldiers, in which



THE CITY HALL IN WALL STREET, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

blood was shed, and which antedates by nearly two months the famous Boston massacre, of which so much has been made by historians.

The quarrel arose about a very little matter—a piece of wood called a “Liberty Pole,” perhaps forty feet high, standing in the centre of the Common, directly abreast of the soldiers’ barracks. The soldiers wished very much to cut this pole down; and the patriots were as fully determined that it should stand. Here again a principle was involved. The pole had been erected June 4, 1766, on the anniversary of the king’s birthday, to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act. Great rejoicings and gratulations attended the act. As day broke, bells pealed and cannon thundered. An ox was “barbecued” on the Common. Twenty-five barrels of beer and a hogshead of punch were provided for the feast. As for the liberty pole, just erected, it flaunted a large banner bearing the electric words: “*The King, Pitt, Liberty.*” Twenty-five cannon were provided to fire a *feu de joie*, and twenty-five cords of wood were piled about a stout pole, having on its summit a pyramid of tar barrels, which at nightfall would flame into a royal bonfire in honor of His Gracious Majesty and the repeal of the odious act. Now the royalists, and the soldiers especially, were ill-pleased with the repeal of the Stamp Act, which they regarded as a triumph for the people; the liberty pole was to them, therefore, a symbol of defeat. Again, there was bad blood between the soldiers and the citizens, as indeed there ever must be between a spirited people and a body of troops sent out to

overawe and coerce them. The soldiers, therefore, determined to destroy the pole which flaunted the "Liberty rag" in their faces. On the 10th of August they succeeded in cutting it down. This created great excitement, and next day a large body of citizens assembled on the Common with the intention of raising the pole again; but they were at once set upon by a detachment of the 24th regiment and dispersed, many being well bruised in the melee. Sears, McDougall, Lamb, and others of the tribunes now collected a little army of the Sons of Liberty, and triumphantly reared the pole. There it remained until the 23d of September, when the soldiers again destroyed it; but within two days a third was reared in its place. So close a watch was then kept by the patriots, that the soldiers were unable to cut it down by stealth, and it stood in proud defiance until the 18th of March, 1767, when the people celebrated with much spirit the first anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act. This enraged the soldiers, and that night the pole was again prostrated. The next day it was raised, and the craft of the ironsmith invoked to secure it with braces and iron bands. At night the soldiers came against it, but were unable to destroy it; the next night they attempted in vain to blow it up—an attempt which led the patriots to set a watch to guard their cherished piece of wood. As was expected, the valiant 24th soon came out against it, but were attacked by the guard and so soundly beaten that they fled into their barracks. On the 22d and 23d they again attacked the pole, but the whole city having now become aroused, Governor



DEFENCE OF THE LIBERTY POLE IN NEW YORK.



RESTORING THE LIBERTY-POLE.

Moore interposed, and commanded the soldiers to cease their aggressions.

The next attempt to destroy the pole occasioned the massacre to which we have referred. Three years had passed, and although several attempts had been made upon it, Liberty's staff still remained erect; but on the 16th of January, 1770, a party of soldiers, by concealing themselves in an old building near by, succeeded in sallying upon the pole, and cutting it down, and piling it beside the door of Montague's tavern, where the Sons of Liberty were in the habit of holding their meetings. The next day, we are told, nearly the whole city came together in the Common, and, after considering the subject, passed resolutions declaring that all soldiers below the rank of orderly, who appeared armed in the streets, were enemies to the peace of the city, and therefore liable to arrest, as were also those, whether armed or unarmed, who were found out of their barracks after roll-call. This was met with an insulting and taunting placard signed "the 16th Regiment of Foot," which was posted throughout the city by the soldiers. Three of the latter engaged in this work were arrested by two stalwart Sons of Liberty—Isaac Sears and Walter Quackenbos—who attempted to escort them to the mayor's office, but were discovered by a party of soldiers from the lower barracks, who rushed to the rescue. The Liberty boys were on the alert, however, and at once ran to the aid of Sears and Quackenbos, and being armed with canes, bludgeons, knives, paving stones, and whatever else came to hand, a lively skirmish

ensued. The soldiers, finding themselves outnumbered, retreated to a small eminence then called Golden Hill, on the present line of John Street between Cliff and William, where, meeting a reinforcement, they made another stand; the bells had by this time alarmed the city; shops were closed; artisans and laborers threw down their tools and rushed by hundreds to the aid of their brethren, and a general mêlée ensued. The patriots, however, had harder heads and stouter arms than the soldiers, and the latter were forced steadily back and soon found themselves on the summit of the hill tousled and torn, their arms gone, and themselves quite at the mercy of the people, who hemmed them in on every side. The latter had not escaped injury. One had been thrust through with a bayonet. Several were bleeding from wounds. Francis Field, a Quaker, while standing on his own doorstep, had been cut severely in the cheek. At this juncture, another detachment of the 16th came up, and seeing the condition of affairs, called to their fellows to charge through the cordon of people and they would support them by an attack in the rear. Further bloodshed was stopped by the officers of the regiment, who appeared and ordered the soldiers to their barracks. The latter, however, smarted under a sense of defeat, and renewed the fight early next morning by attacking a woman who was returning from market, and who was rescued from her tormentors with a bayonet thrust through her cloak. About noon the military resumed the battle by making a wanton attack on a party of sailors passing through the

street. Soon an old man, a sailor, was thrust through and fell, whereupon the mayor tardily appeared and ordered the combatants to disperse. The soldiers derided him, and when a messenger was sent to apprize their officers, they prevented him with drawn swords from proceeding. Fortunately a party of Liberty Boys playing ball near by heard the shouts and sound of blows, and hurrying to the spot drove the assailants off. Still not satisfied, a party of military appeared in the afternoon while a large body of the citizens were gathered in the Common, and charged upon them, though not the slightest provocation had been offered. The crowd opened right and left to give them passage, but, bent on quarrelling, they began snatching canes from the gentlemen present, assailing them meantime with insulting epithets. The gentlemen resisted, however, and so stoutly cudgelled their assailants that they fled in confusion to their barracks. This two days' battle with the military began January 18, 1770. The Boston massacre occurred March 5, 1770, or nearly two months later. The Sons of Liberty, however, erected their pole, which stood until the opening of the great conflict. It was a true liberty pole, far superior to any that had preceded it. It is described as having been "of great length," protected for nearly two thirds its height by iron bands and rivets, and on its topmast was a vane which bore the magic word, "LIBERTY."

The next event of significance in this epoch was "the Tea Party," which occurred in April, 1774.

We have all read of the famous Boston "Tea

Party" of December 16, 1773. New York held hers also, though it did not take place until some three months later, simply because the tea ship destined for New York was driven from her course by a tempest and nearly wrecked, so that she did not reach port until long after due. The Americans were so bitterly opposed to taxation without representation that Parliament decided to abolish nearly all imposts; that on tea and a few other articles was retained in order, as Lord North observed, "to try the question with America." The colonists promptly accepted the gage. When news of the "Tea Act" first reached them (October 20, 1773), the patriots of New York met and "declared that tea commissioners and stamp distributors were alike obnoxious," and passed votes of thanks to the masters of vessels who had refused to charter their ships to convey tea cargoes. The first tea ship was due in New York November 25, 1773, and "The Mohawks," an order identical with that which destroyed the tea in Boston, held themselves in readiness to receive her. At the same time the Sons of Liberty, which as an order had nearly died out, was revived. December 15th news of the arrival of the tea ship at Boston reached New York, and a meeting of the Sons of Liberty was at once held in the City Hall. After letters from the committees of Boston and Philadelphia had been read, and while speakers were urging the union of the colonies for united resistance, the mayor and recorder of the city entered with a proposition from Governor Tryon (who had become governor in 1771), that on the arrival of the tea, it should be taken into



LORD NORTH FORCING THE TEA DOWN THE THROAT OF AMERICA.



LORD NORTH.

the fort at noon-day, where it should remain until disposed of by the king, the council, or the owners; a stern, emphatic "No," three times repeated, negatived the proposition. When the meeting adjourned, it was "until the arrival of the tea ship." By and by (April 18, 1774) the long-expected vessel was reported off Sandy Hook. She was the *Nancy*, Captain Lockyer, and on the voyage, in a terrible storm, had lost her mizzen-mast and an anchor, sprung her main-top-mast, and sustained other injuries. As Holt's *Journal* of April 21st wickedly said:

"Ever since her departure from Europe, she has met with a continued succession of misfortunes, having on board something worse than a Jonah, which, after being long tossed in the tempestuous ocean, it is hoped, like him, will be thrown back upon the place from whence it came. May it teach a lesson there as useful as the preaching of Jonah was to the Ninevites."

In this spirit the people received the privileged East India Company's tea.

Although so battered, the New York pilots refused to bring the *Nancy* farther than Sandy Hook. There, by agreement, a committee of the Sons of Liberty met her, and took possession of her boats that the crew might not escape, and thus prevent her being sent back to England. A part of the committee, however, kindly escorted Captain Lockyer to the city, where, under their guidance, he was permitted to visit his consignee, Mr. Henry White, and was given every facility for repairing his ship and procuring supplies for his return voyage, but under

no pretext was he permitted to approach the custom-house to enter his vessel. Three days passed, and the captain was able to say when he would be ready to depart. Next morning (April 21st) the city awoke to find the following placard posted on the doors and street-corners :

“ *To the Public :*

“The sense of the city relative to the landing of the East India Company’s tea being signified to Captain Lockyer by the Committee, nevertheless it is the desire of a number of the citizens that at his departure from hence he shall see with his own eyes their detestation of the measures pursued by the ministry and by the East India Company to enslave this country. This will be declared by the convention of the people at his departure from this city, which will be on next Saturday morning at 9 o’clock, when, no doubt, every friend to this country will attend. The bells will give the notice about an hour before he embarks from Murray’s Wharf.”

Before Captain Lockyer could get away, however, the *London*, Captain Chambers, was announced. At the Hook the vessel was brought to and boarded by the Liberty Boys, as the *Nancy* had been, but Captain Chambers positively denied having any tea on board. The Philadelphia committee, however, had sent word to New York that tea *was* on board, and the committee therefore demanded to see his manifests and cachets. These were shown, but as they mentioned no tea the ship was permitted to come up to the city. The captain’s ordeal, however, was not yet over. He had had to deal with only a part of the vigilance committee appointed to watch for

the tabooed tea. As the *London* reached her berth, —about four in the afternoon,—the entire committee marched on board and ordered the hatches opened, declaring their conviction that tea *was* on board, and assured Captain Chambers that they were ready to open every package in the cargo, if necessary, in order to find it. The captain, seeing that further concealment was impossible, confessed that he had eighteen chests on board ; whereupon captain and committee adjourned to the great public room in Fraunces Tavern to deliberate over the matter. They decided, says the chronicler,

“ to communicate the whole sense of the matter to the people, who were convened near the ship, which was accordingly done. The MOHAWKS were prepared to do their duty at a proper hour, but the body of the people were so impatient that, before it arrived, a number of them boarded the ship, about 8 P.M., took out the tea, which was at hand, broke the cases and started their contents into the river, without doing any damage to the ship or cargo. Several persons of reputation were placed below to keep tally, and about the companion to prevent ill-disposed persons from going below the deck. At 10 the people all dispersed in good order but in great wrath with the captain ; and it was not without some risk of his life that he escaped.”

Saturday came, and Captain Lockyer, of the *Nancy*, made ready to sail on his return voyage to London, his vessel, meantime, having been riding inside the Hook jealously guarded by the Vigilance Committee. As nine o'clock struck, the committee waited on him at his lodgings, at the coffee-house in Wall Street, to escort him to the wharf, while the

people, warned an hour before by the sound of bells, assembled in vast crowds to witness the ceremony. The committee began proceedings by leading the captain on to the balcony of the coffee-house, that he might see the people and be seen by them. As he appeared a band struck up "God save the King," and the people greeted him with shouts. Then a procession was formed, with captain and committee at its head, and to the sound of martial music the orderly throng moved down Wall Street to the dock, where a sloop had been provided to convey the captain to the *Nancy*. Captain and committee filed on board this vessel. Captain Chambers, glad to escape so easily, was also a passenger. As the sloop moved away every bell in the city, except those on the City Hall and Columbia College, rang triumphant peals, the ships in the harbor ran up their gayest colors, the liberty pole on the Common was decked, and the thunder of artillery at its foot proclaimed the triumph of the people.

The last word we have of this brilliant affair is found in one of the newspapers of the day: "On Sunday, at 10 A.M., the ship and the sloop, with the committee, weighed their anchors and stood to sea; and at 2 P.M. the pilot-boat and the committee's sloop left her at the distance of three leagues from the Hook."

These were the leading incidents in New York of the days immediately preceding the Revolution. During this period, in July, 1771, William Tryon, who had had an inglorious career as Governor of North Carolina, came to the city as Governor, and continued in office until deposed by the Revolution.



THE SONS OF LIBERTY, LED BY MARINUS WILLET, SEIZING BRITISH ARMS.



